

The Historical Outlook

A JOURNAL FOR

READERS, STUDENTS AND TEACHERS OF HISTORY

Continuing The History Teacher's Magazine

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The Responsibility for the Failure of Compromise in 1860

BY W. E. TILBERG, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, MIDLAND COLLEGE, FREMONT, NEBR.

Immediately following the election of Lincoln in 1860, the South began to carry out its long threatened secession. As soon as their intentions could no longer be doubted, many Republicans, who had voted for Lincoln, regretted having done so. The Northern Democrats, constituting almost half of the people, and these wavering Republicans, together constituted a majority of the people of the North, who were opposed to carrying out the Republican policy enunciated in the Chicago platform.

The opposition took first the usual form of an extensive newspaper campaign, headed by the *New York Herald*, which maintained that since Mr. Lincoln was only a minority President, and since the people had definitely repudiated the Chicago platform, he should now adopt the platform of the majority, which was, in substance, conciliation and compromise.¹ The vacillating *New York Tribune* joined in the cry and urged that the South be allowed to secede in deference to the sacred right of Revolution,² and Mr. Weed urged in the *Albany Evening Journal* that a convention of all the states be called in order to secure a satisfactory compromise, and thus avert war and disunion.³ This was the tone of the newspapers in general.

The next stage was mass-meetings and resolutions. At Philadelphia, at a large mass-meeting held on December 13th, resolutions were adopted declaring for the Union and denying secession, but at the same time condemning the Personal Liberty Laws, accepting the Dred Scott Decision as a finality, urging the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law, denying the right of Congress to legislate concerning slavery in the Territories, and finally proposing a convention of the states to draw up a compromise acceptable to the whole country.⁴ At Madison, Indiana, a meeting was held,⁵ and similar meetings appeared to have been quite common throughout the North. They showed a disunited North.

We must not, however, lose sight of the fact that the victorious Republicans, even though as firm as ever, would naturally be silent, both in and out of Congress, in the face of the crisis, while the Democrats would naturally take advantage of the opportunity to point the accusing finger at the party in power. But, be that as it may, the North certainly favored conciliation. This was true when Congress met on December 4th, and, naturally, this had a great influence upon both the President and Congress.

President James Buchanan had always been, in great part, a tool of the South. He was now confronted by a definite secession movement on the part of that section. The North, as we have seen, was vacillating. The responsibility for the dissolution of the Union was upon him. Under these various influences, he became a wavering individual, typifying the country itself. His fourth annual message to Congress was a curious mixture of Northern and Southern political philosophy, and a plea for a compromise amendment to the Constitution. The first part probably written under the influence of Jeremiah Black,⁶ and the second part under that of Jefferson Davis.⁷

President Buchanan's message was sent to Congress December 4, 1860. In it he says that the twenty-five years of intemperate interference of the North with the domestic institutions of the South are simply producing their natural results: insecurity, notions of freedom among the slaves, and the desire to break up the Union. The North is wholly to blame, because it has no more right to interfere with these institutions of the South than with similar institutions of Russia or Brazil.

But, he argues, dissolution of the Union is not justified by the mere election of a President unfavorable to the South; nor because of unconstitutional inequality in the Territories; nor yet because of the passage of unconstitutional Personal Liberty Laws by certain states. The Supreme Court has decided all these laws unconstitutional and if the President-elect shall fail to do his duty in the enforcement of the laws, then the Southern States are justified in revolutionary resistance to the government.

He denies the right of secession. The federal government is as real as that of the state, both being built directly upon the people. The federal constitution does not provide for its own destruction.

It is the duty of the President, he says, to enforce the laws, but the present laws are inadequate to allow the President to cope with the present situation. Congress alone can give the President the necessary power. But, he asks, "Has the Constitution delegated to Congress the power to coerce a state into submission if it is attempting to withdraw, or has already withdrawn from the Confederacy?" To this question he answers that he finds neither an "express or delegated" power, nor a "necessary and proper" power to carry another into effect. Our Union rests

upon public opinion, and only peaceful means can be used to preserve it.

He accordingly asks Congress to originate an "explanatory amendment" to the Constitution that would finally settle the meaning of the Constitution on the following points: 1. An express recognition of the right of property in slaves in states where it now exists or shall henceforth exist. 2. The Constitutional protection of slaves in the Territories until they are admitted to the Union on the basis of popular sovereignty. 3. The recognition of the right of the owner to his fugitive slave, in order that the people cannot henceforth challenge both the laws of Congress and the decisions of the Supreme Court.⁸

This was the message that came to Congress as a suggestive program of action. However learned a discussion it might be called, it showed conclusively Buchanan's total lack of the statesmanship of action in the crisis at hand. As Seward in one of his witticisms said, "It shows conclusively that it is the duty of the President to enforce the laws—unless somebody opposes him,—and that no state has a right to go out of the Union—unless it wants to."⁹

When the message came to Congress, this body was as irreconcilable and uncertain as the country itself. "Everybody seems firmly resolved to adhere to his professed principles and course of action. We are getting into deep water and it is doubtful what shore we shall reach," writes Grimes to his wife on December 5th.¹⁰ Seward writes on December 9th: "The disunion panic has increased, and it begins to bewilder and demoralize . . . the timid will rush into the Democratic party."¹¹ And again on December 10th: "The debates in the Senate are too hasty, feeble, inconclusive and unsatisfactory; presumptuous on the part of the ill-tempered South; feeble and frivolous on the part of the North."¹² And again on December 11th: "Vaporings of Southern Senators, setting forth the grievances of their section and requiring Northern Senators to answer, excuse and offer terms, which they are told in advance will not be accepted. . . . They say we ought not to have elected Lincoln."¹³

On the other hand, Jefferson Davis says: "Hopes were still cherished that the Northern leaders would appreciate the impending crisis; would refrain from the bravado of being able to whip the South in thirty to ninety days, and would address themselves to the more manly purpose of devising means to allay the indignation and quiet the apprehension of their Southern brethren. But the debates of that session manifest the arrogance of the triumphant party and the determination to reap to the uttermost the full harvest of a party victory."¹⁴

Henry Adams, who spent the winter, 1860-1861, in Washington, says in substance that when Congress convened the country was divided into three sections, whose attitudes toward the crisis were: the North, unbelief; the Border, alarm; the South, determination to secede.¹⁵ This appears to have been practically the division in Congress, each group representing very well the section from which it came: the Republicans were silent and uncertain except in

individual cases like Wade and Hale; the Border-state and Northern Democrats were pleading for compromise; the Southerners were determined and outspoken. The silence of the Republicans may in part be accounted for by the following letter of Seward to Weed on December 2d: "Members are coming in all in confusion. Nothing can be agreed on in advance, but silence for the present, which I have insisted must not be sullen, as last year, but respectful and fraternal."¹⁶

Writing again in 1907 concerning this Congress, Henry Adams says: "The Union was a sentiment but not much more, and in December, 1860, the sentiment about the Capitol was chiefly hostile. . . . Patriotism ended with throwing a halo over the Continental Congress, but over the close of the thirty-sixth Congress, 1860-61, no halo could be thrown by anyone who saw it."¹⁷

The debates of the first few days also emphasize this condition. The radicals have their fling. Clingman, Lane, Brown and Wigfall for the South brought their charges against the North that it had designs upon their domestic institutions. It had elected a man to the presidency because he was opposed to slavery; and now they were going out of the Union to become a nation, as their geographic, social and economic conditions meant them to be. If the North desires to compel us to remain, we welcome war. No compromise can hold us.¹⁸ Hale, of New Hampshire, answered them declaring that if a constitutional election cannot stand, he welcomed war, and secession would mean war.¹⁹

But out of this chaos was to come real effort at settlement. The leaders had remained silent for the most part. After the radicals had had their fling, the leaders came forth. On December 6th, Senator Powell, of Kentucky, introduced a resolution, which as finally amended by him December 10th read as follows: "Resolved, that so much of the President's message as relates to the agitated and distracted condition of the country, and the grievances between the slave-holding and the non-slave-holding States, be referred to a special committee of thirteen members, and that said committee be instructed to inquire into the present conditions of the country, and report by bill or otherwise."²⁰

On December 13th, Andrew Johnson, of Tennessee, introduced a resolution with the view of referring it to the committee of thirteen when it had been appointed. The resolution asked the committee to inquire into the expediency of recommending Constitutional Amendments covering the points enumerated.²¹ On December 18th, John J. Crittenden introduced a joint resolution proposing Mr. Johnson's principles to the Senate in the form of Constitutional Amendments. This is what has been called the Crittenden Compromise, but as a matter of fact the principles had been submitted to the Senate five days before by Andrew Johnson. The proposed Amendments were as follows:

Art. I. The extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the coast. Territory north of that line shall be free and that south of it slave, until the State

is admitted into the Union on the basis of popular sovereignty.

Art. II. Congress shall have no power to abolish slavery in places under its exclusive jurisdiction if situated within a state holding slaves.

Art. III. Congress shall not abolish slavery in the District of Columbia as long as Maryland or Virginia have it, and then only by compensation to the owners not consenting. Federal officers and Congressmen never to be denied the privilege of taking their slaves with them to Washington and back again.

Art. IV. Transportation of slaves between States, and between States and Territories, never to be prohibited.

Art. V. Provision for the payment of the value of an escaped fugitive slave by the United States Government in case of aid given by the citizens of other states. The Government can sue the county in which the offense was committed, and the county, in turn, sue the offenders.

Art. VI. These propositions not to be Amendable.

In addition to the above proposed Amendments, he introduced resolutions committing Congress to the following propositions:

1. The Fugitive Slave law should be enforced.
2. The Personal Liberty laws should be repealed.
3. Judges' fees should be the same whether negro is convicted or acquitted.
4. The laws prohibiting African slave trade should be rigidly enforced.²²

On the same day, December 18th, the Powell resolution for the committee of thirteen was adopted, and as Mr. Crittenden became a member of the committee he introduced the above proposition there. Mr. Johnson also moved to have his resolution referred to the committee,²³ but since the principles had been incorporated into the Crittenden propositions they never came up in the committee meetings. On December 20th, the following members were appointed on the committee: Messrs. Powell, Ky.; Crittenden, Ky.; Douglas, Ill.; Bigler, Pa.; Rice, Minn.; Davis, Miss.; Toombs, Ga.; Hunter, Va.; Collamer, N. H.; Seward, N. Y.; Wade, Ohio; Grimes, Ia., and Doolittle, Wis. The committee was thus composed of the leaders of the various parties as well as of geographical division, and it was understood that any compromise reached by them would be adopted by Congress and thus the dissolution of the Union prevented.²⁴

Before taking up the consideration of the propositions before the committee and the vote on them, let us study briefly the men themselves and their views.

Lazarus W. Powell, of Kentucky, who introduced the resolution creating the committee of thirteen, naturally became the chairman. He was born and reared in Kentucky and had served his State as legislator and Governor, and was sent to the Senate in 1858. Though not brilliant, he was honest, a good worker, earnestly desiring the preservation of the Union. He was a Democrat, sympathizing strongly with the South, but was opposed to secession. He believed Kentucky should be neutral, if the Union

could not be preserved.²⁵ Mr. Powell believed that the root of evils could be reached only by Constitutional Amendments. "Unequivocal constitutional guarantees upon the points indicated are the only remedies that will reach and eradicate the disease, give permanent security and restore harmony, concord and fraternal feeling between the people of the North and South, and save the Union from speedy dissolution."²⁶

John J. Crittenden, of Kentucky, was peculiarly fitted to be a member of the committee. He had been sent to the Senate as early as 1817 and since that time had been in almost continuous national service as Senator and Cabinet officer. Being an old Whig and from the Great Border State of Kentucky (Henry Clay's State), he was naturally looked upon as the successor of Henry Clay. He supported Bell and Everett in the campaign of 1860, but when the South seceded he supported Lincoln's policy of unity by coercion.²⁷

Mr. Crittenden's age, experience and connection with the great state of Kentucky gave him a great prestige in Congress. But outside of Congress his extensive friendship and correspondence with the best, the most conservative men in both North and South, including such men as R. C. Winthrop, Edward Everett, R. P. Letcher, John A. Dix, Stephen A. Douglas, A. A. Lawrence, Jefferson Davis, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toombs and others made his prestige even greater than in Congress. Of all men, he was the one who could propose a compromise most likely to be satisfactory to both sections, and with some chance of being heard.²⁸

In his speech supporting his compromise measures, he made a strong plea for Union. The line 36° 30" would necessitate the South surrendering a part of its constitutional protection theory, and the North a part of its non-extension claim, but "is not the Union worth this much? We have lived under such a line of peace for thirty years. We can do it again. Dissolution is certain within six months unless this compromise is accepted. This is no time for technicalities. This Government, the hope of liberty, is tottering, and we as Senators are on record before the world."²⁹

Stephen A. Douglas, of Illinois, "was born a Yankee, raised a Westerner, and was wedded to the mistress of a southern plantation, and represented a commonwealth whose population was made up of elements from all these sections."³⁰ The origin of the people, some from Virginia, some from New England, the flow of the river, the proximity of the slave states, the latitude of the southern end of the state all tended to draw the people of the southern Illinois southward. This region was therefore strongly Democratic. When the northern part of the state began to be opened up to the great possibilities of the Great Lakes and northern railroad centers, this region was flooded with Yankees, and hence became strongly Whig. Here was a political situation that called for a master politician. The Democrats were in the majority continually and Douglas inclined

toward pro-slavery views, but a rift in the Democratic party in the Legislature on the Wilmot Proviso principle (fifteen Democrats voting for it) showed Douglas the drift of things, and he immediately adopted the principle of "Popular sovereignty" as a means of holding his party together.³¹ His political background is therefore such as to favor compromise. Douglas belonged to neither section. He was a westerner to whom national unity was necessary to the state unity itself.³²

As a member of the committee of thirteen, he voted unreservedly for all of the Crittenden propositions, because he believed they would remove the slavery issue from Congress. He preferred his "popular sovereignty," of course, but could get no support for it. He flatly denied the right of secession. "We can never acknowledge the right of a state to secede and cut us off from the ocean and the world without our consent," he says, but at the same time he charges the Republican members of the committee with attempting to drive the South out of the Union in order to get the needed majority to confirm Lincoln's appointments and to get permanent control of the government.³³

In his speech in Congress he claimed that nineteen out of every twenty fugitive slaves were returned; that the border States knew this and were satisfied. The border States could settle this controversy at once. If the Union is to be dissolved it will be by the two extremes of the country; the far North, where they very seldom see a slave, and the far South, where they very seldom lose one.

William Bigler, of Pennsylvania, was a close friend of Buchanan, and while in the Senate (1856-61) influenced him greatly in his policies. He was a firm advocate of peaceful adjustment of the difficulties and gave his entire support to the Crittenden Compromise. After its failure he opposed Lincoln and the war until defeated for re-election.³⁴

His speech on December 11th was a strong plea for preservation of the "Union as it is." He conceded the southern grievances, but denied the right of secession. He also denied that the Republican victory meant an anti-slavery victory, because there were so many other issues in the campaign, and claimed that a popular election on the Union issue alone, separated from the partisan politician and his methods, would give all the assurance the South could ask. He then suggested that a constitutional amendment be adopted, defining the boundaries and requisite population of the new States, and providing for their admission by presidential proclamation. This, he maintained, would remove the cause of all the hostile talk in Congress, and thus finally restore the old fraternal feeling.³⁵

Henry M. Rice, of Minnesota, came to that region before its organization as a State. He was sent to the senate as a Democrat and interested himself principally in post roads, lands, railroads and Indian affairs. Besides serving on the committee of thirteen, he was a member of the Peace Convention of 1861. Although he made no statement in Congress

before the meeting of the committee, I judge from the above facts that he favored peaceable adjustment through compromise. After the committee's work was ended he said in the Senate that the Crittenden resolutions had his hearty approval.³⁶

Jefferson Davis, of Mississippi, was the successor of Calhoun as leader of the South and was probably the best type of Southerner of his day. His speeches show him mentally the equal of any man of the South. As senator in the early fifties he was an aggressive radical, while as Cabinet member he influenced the administration to take the course favorable to the South. Mr. Davis was a strong advocate of secession as a right, and the best remedy for the present evils, but when the test came in 1860 he wavered, writing R. B. Rhett that it would not be advisable for South Carolina to secede unless the rest of the States were willing to join.³⁷ In November, 1860, Governor Pettus of Mississippi summoned the State's delegation in Congress to Jackson to discuss his proposed suggestion to the Legislature to call a secession convention. The question was whether Mississippi should support South Carolina by seceding now, or whether should attempt to restrain South Carolina until the other States were ready. Here again Mr. Davis showed his conservatism. He was, as far as can be ascertained, the only person in the conference who opposed the individual secession of Mississippi at this time. Writing after the war, he says: "While holding, in common with my political associates, that the right of a State to secede was unquestionable, I differed from most of them as to the probability of our being allowed peaceably to exercise this right. Believing, that secession was a precursor of war between the States, I was consequently slower and more reluctant than the others to resort to that remedy."³⁸ He says also in the same connection that his knowledge of the military situation showed him that all the military resources of the country were in the North. The conference voted against Davis' proposition of unified secession, and many were much displeased with his attitude, believing that he had become a politician anxious to retain his power in the government and that he was planning to avert secession altogether.³⁹

In his speech on the Powell resolution on December 10th, Mr. Davis said that the root of the evil was in the substitution of a sectional hostility for the old fraternal feeling of our fathers, and that the only remedy lay in a declaration by the Republicans, who were hostile to southern institutions, that they would do better in the future. "I would not give the parchment on which a bill would be written which is to secure our constitutional rights within the limits of a State where the people are all opposed to the execution of that law."⁴⁰ But, he said, the South would not secede if assurance of fraternity and non-aggression was given by the North.⁴¹ Undoubtedly, Mr. Davis was in favor of any compromise, honorable to the South, which he felt would permanently remove the evil.

Robert Toombs, of Georgia, was a "strongly

marked Southerner of the old school, autocratic and arrogant, an unfailing outgrowth of slavery. Mentally he was distinctly great, exceptionally eloquent, and personally rigidly upright and honest to a remarkable degree."⁴² Like Davis, he was a radical in the early fifties, but opposed disunion. In the late fifties he became a Democrat, supported Breckinridge in 1860 and urged throughout the campaign immediate secession in case Lincoln was elected. In his famous "doorsill speech" on January 24, 1860, Mr. Toombs had urged the South to secede before the Black Republicans could intrench themselves behind the government and the courts. "The enemy is at your door. Wait not to meet him at the hearthstone—meet him at the doorsill and drive him from the temple of liberty, or pull down its pillars and involve him in the common ruin."⁴³ Now on December 3d he made a speech before the Georgia legislature urging the same thing,⁴⁴ but for some reason he turned completely around and within a month adopted a conservative attitude. In a letter to the citizens of Danburg he urged them to put it squarely up to the Republicans "to give you full and ample security for your rights." If they grant it postpone action; if not, secede immediately after the 4th of March.⁴⁵ Leaving for Washington he arrived there in time to take up his work as a member of the committee of thirteen. Mr. Toombs supported the Crittenden Compromise resolutions, not because they suited him, but because his State would accept them and he would follow his state.⁴⁶ When, however, the propositions were voted down on December 24th, he sent a telegram to the people of Georgia stating that he had come to the Senate to secure their rights, or to demonstrate to them that they could not get guarantees from the North. The Republicans had voted down unanimously every proposition, and now secession was the only remedy.⁴⁷

Mr. Toombs' reversal of form may be accounted for by the fact that there were a great many conservatives in Georgia, and by demonstrating the impossibility of getting guarantees from the North, he would be able to carry this conservative element with him into secession, thus unifying the State. Alexander H. Stephens expresses this opinion in a letter to R. M. Johnston after the war.⁴⁸ This, of course, goes to show Toombs to be deliberately planning the secession of Georgia, but his life-long friendship with A. H. Stephens, who opposed secession, would go to show him fundamentally a conservative. But whatever his motives, he was now in favor of an honest effort at compromise and supported the Crittenden proposition.

Robert M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, was a member of the land-holding aristocracy of the South and was a typical Southerner. All of his ancestors and relatives for two generations seem to have been in political life and he himself went to the State legislature at the age of 26, and to the United States House of Representatives at 28. He was soon transferred to the Senate and was a prominent candidate for the presidential nomination in 1860.⁴⁹

Senator Hunter was a conservative on the secession question. In 1850 he favored the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the coast. In an undated letter, probably written in 1859 or 1860, he writes that the South is unaware of its own condition and can only be warned by degrees. "I believe," he says, "that even twenty men in this body who would act as I am disposed to act, could—I will not say save the Union, but at least act as a salutary check upon the excesses of the two great parties that are distracting the country."⁵⁰ While not making a speech on the compromise resolutions, before the meeting of committee, these things show him to be very favorable to a compromise effort.

William H. Seward had been in politics practically all his life, and for many years had been the recognized leader of the Republicans. During the session of congress of 1860-61, he was looked upon as the spokesman of the new administration, all feeling that he would be the secretary of state under Lincoln. Despite his former speeches, such as the "Higher Law" and the "Irrepressible Conflict," which had made the South consider him the personification of Northern aggression, Seward was now in better relations with Southern members than any other Republican, due in part to his extensive social friendship among them; in part to the rise of Lincoln, whom they feared more; and in part because he was by nature a compromiser. He was a real politician, "a type in one way simple because it was only double—political and personal; but complex because the political had become nature, and no one could tell which was the mask and which the features."⁵¹ And being this, he would not likely be the man who would alienate a section when the real thing desired was Union. On December 1st he writes his wife: "I begin to see my way through, without sacrifice of principle. But I talk very little, and nothing in detail."⁵² The other Republicans were ordered to keep a respectful silence as well.⁵³ On December 2d, he wrote Weed: "I think the Southern members will be for once cautious and forbearing. If we can keep peace and quiet until the decree of South Carolina is pronounced, the temper will then be favorable, on both sides, to consideration."⁵⁴ To his wife he wrote on December 8th: "I am, thus far, silent, not because I am thinking of proposing Compromises, but because I wish to avoid, myself, and restrain other Republicans from intermeddling, just now when concession, or solicitation, or solicitude, would encourage, and demonstrations of firmness of purpose would exasperate."⁵⁵ Numerous other letters are written in the same tenor. Henry Adams, who was in a position to know much of Seward's real intentions, said that Seward favored conciliation until the height of the fever was over and the border States safe, because that would prevent disunion and preserve the Republican party, which was not strong enough to sustain the odium of the dissolution of the Union.⁵⁶ All this leads one to look for an ulterior motive in Seward's actions, but I think it were safe to say that he would willingly have accepted a rea-

sonable Compromise, at least if disunion were the alternative.

Benjamin F. Wade, of Ohio, was born in Massachusetts, of Puritan ancestry. He moved to the Western Reserve in 1812, thus becoming identified with that anti-slavery section of which Joshua Giddings and himself were the great representatives. He was sent to the Senate in 1851 and became at once the most uncompromising enemy of slavery in that body.⁵⁷

His speech was made in the Senate on December 17th and he planted himself as firmly against compromise as ever. How could the Republicans, who had never held offices, be guilty of the oppression complained of? Through that kind of logic, it should have been England that revolted against the American Colonies rather than the other way around. He justified the Personal Liberty Laws as only intended to protect the citizens of the State from kidnappers, and the South should be the last to complain of sovereign States protecting their own citizens.

The Republican party, he said, stands upon the principle of Washington, Jefferson and Jackson, and where the Democratic party itself once stood, and where all civilized nations stand today, but it promises definitely in its platform not to touch slavery where it is, but to oppose its further extension. Now a President has been elected on this clear-cut issue: "I would do anything before I would compromise that away. I have no right to." War is practically sure to follow secession.⁵⁸ Mr. Wade leaves no doubt as to his vote on compromise.

Jacob Collamer, of Vermont, was well born and well educated. He was a prominent lawyer and was sent to the Senate in 1854 as an anti-slavery Whig by the Republicans. Though belonging to the conservative element of the Republican party, and rejecting the extreme measures to which the Radicals tended, he was resolute and uncompromising in his opposition to secession,⁵⁹ and expressed very definite and concise views on every subject. I do not think he would have favored a compromise if he had to yield a vital principle to get it.

Mr. Collamer's speech in defense of the Personal Liberty laws of Vermont, December 18th, showed his solid views and principles. He said that the people of Vermont would not tolerate an unconstitutional law; that the Personal Liberty Laws are only for the protection of our own citizens. The laws presume that every negro is free until he is proven a slave, just as the Southern States presume he is a slave until he is proven free. "Why is the one constitutional and not the other?"⁶⁰ His environment and section and his way of putting things, as well as his anti-slavery reputation, leads me to conclude that he would oppose compromise.

James W. Grimes was born and educated in New Hampshire and early moved to Iowa. In 1854 he was elected Governor as an anti-slavery Whig by the aid of the Free Soil party. Grimes platform was opposed to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill.⁶¹ Iowa was in opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and after

the election was over he wrote Chase an enthusiastic letter, in which he said that in 1856 no one could get the electoral vote of Iowa who did not favor the repeal of the Fugitive Slave law, and who was not situated so that if Nebraska became a slave state they would have one on the west and one on the south, and thus between Underground Railroads and slave hunts, Iowa's peaceful prosperity would be at an end.⁶² He became the soul of the anti-slavery movement in Iowa.

As senator he stood firmly on his former principles. While making few speeches, his letters show where he stood. On December 16th, two days before his appointment to the committee, he wrote to his wife that several states would secede and that war would follow. "No reasonable concession will satisfy the rebels. They want to debauch the moral sentiment of the North by making them agree to the proposition that slavery is a benign, constitutional system, and that it shall be extended in the end all over the continent. There is, as you have heard, much talk of compromise, but there is not the slightest probability that anything will be done. . . . Such a perfect imbecile (Buchanan) never held office before."⁶³ And on January 28th, one month after the committee had adjourned, he wrote a long letter to Governor Kirkwood, of Iowa, condemning absolutely the Crittenden Compromise, stating that it was more than it implied. "The sum and substance of the whole matter is that we are asked, for the sake of peace, to surrender all our cherished ideas on the subject of slavery, and agree, in effect, to provide a slave code for the Territories south of 36° 30' and for the Mexican provinces . . . and to convert the Government into a great slave-breeding, slave-extending empire. . . . My objection is to any compromise. I will never consent to compromises, or the imposition of terms upon me or the people I represent, under threats of breaking up the Union."⁶⁴

This letter was, of course, written after the failure of the committee of thirteen, but it is hardly probable that he would have changed in one month from a position favoring compromise to one of intense hostility, especially when the rest of the North was becoming more and more conciliatory. In the committee of thirteen, he says he supported the following propositions, though I cannot find them in this form in the journal of the committee:

1. Non-interference with the domestic institutions of the States.
2. The repeal of unconstitutional laws by the States.
3. Admission of Kansas as a free State and the admission of the rest of the Territory into two States, one north and one south of the line 36° 30', with provision for subdivision.⁶⁵

He said this could have been adopted without sacrifice of principle to either side. If that is true, the last proposition must have meant the organization without any mention of slavery at all, which, of course, the South could not accept. It seems to me

that on the face of them, Ben Wade could easily have supported the above propositions.

One other fact should not be overlooked. Grimes was in constant correspondence with S. P. Chase concerning his politics and messages.⁶⁸ I would, therefore, assume that the man who would have the greatest influence upon him in his views would be Chase, and that influence would be anti-compromise.

James R. Doolittle was born in New York and belonged to the Democratic party until in 1847, when he introduced into the Democratic convention the "cornerstone resolution" upon which the Free Soil Party of New York was founded and upon which Van Buren ran. He joined the Independent Democrats in their revolt against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854, and thus became one of the founders of the Republican party.⁶⁷ He moved to Wisconsin in 1851 and was sent to the Senate in 1857. His political background is therefore New York. Mr. Doolittle was a staunch supporter of Lincoln in the campaign of 1860, and wrote jubilantly, after the victory, that it meant free territory and majority rule. The South must acquiesce to the enforcement of constitutional laws. We cannot allow the South to go out of the Union, taking with them our costly possessions acquired from France, Spain and Mexico.⁶⁸ While not defining his position before the meeting of the committee, he did speak on December 27th, after it was certain that the committee would fail, maintaining that since the territory acquired from Mexico was free by Mexican law, it remained free, as our constitution did not disestablish Territorial conditions arrived at by a former sovereign power. He also defended the Personal Liberty laws.⁶⁹ This goes to show him opposed to compromise. However, his relations to Lincoln were such as to indicate his possible willingness to follow the latter's desire in important matters.

Summarizing, then, the probable attitudes of the committee members toward the issue in question: Messrs. Powell, Crittenden, Douglas, Bigler, Hunter and Rice were anxious to adopt some fair compromise if it could be made permanent; Messrs. Davis and Toombs would accept any compromise which they thought honorable to the South, if the Republicans would accept it; Messrs. Wade, Collamer and Grimes were opposed to any compromise whatever. Mr. Seward would likely favor compromise, and Mr. Doolittle oppose it if left to themselves, but both would probably yield to Mr. Lincoln's influence.

The committee of thirteen met on December 22d. A rule was adopted that no resolution would be adopted that did not have the support of the majority of each group—the Republicans and the rest.⁷⁰ After Mr. Toombs had submitted a series of resolutions (not acted upon at once), Mr. Crittenden submitted his joint resolution proposing an amendment to the constitution.⁷¹ For some reason the rule was not applied to this first resolution, the extension of the line 36° 30' to the coast, and so it was defeated by a vote of 6 to 7, Messrs. Davis and Toombs voting with the Republicans against it in accordance with

their first announcement that they would not vote for any amendment that a majority of the Republicans did not support. All of the other resolutions were defeated by a strictly class vote under the rule, 8 to 5.⁷²

Mr. Crittenden then introduced his four resolutions, committing Congress to the following policies,⁷³ and with the following votes:

1. Fugitive Slave law constitutional and to be enforced. Defeated 8-3.

2. Repeal of Personal Liberty laws. Defeated 7 to 4.

3. Fees of judges uniform in negro-trial. Adopted 13 to 0.

4. Laws against African slave trade to be enforced. Adopted 13 to 0.⁷⁴ This ended the Crittenden effort.

Two days later, December 24th, Mr. Seward arrived from Auburn, and asked that his vote be recorded in the negative on the above propositions, which was done. He then proposed the following amendments to the constitution:

1. Congress shall not interfere with or abolish slavery in the states where it now exists. Adopted 11 to 2. Messrs. Toombs and Rice voting against it.

2. Fugitive slave to have trial by jury. This was amended by a vote of 7 to 5, the rule not applying to read "in the State from which he fled." As amended, it was defeated under the rule, 6 to 7.

3. States to repeal unconstitutional laws. Defeated 7 to 5. Republicans supported all the above propositions, but it will be noticed that they did not touch the territorial question.

On December 26th, Mr. Seward introduced a fourth resolution:

4. Congress to pass a law to punish armed bands invading other states. This was amended by the Southern members to read, "and also all attempts to excite insurrection in any State by the citizens of another." In this form it was voted down by the Republicans, 7 to 5.⁷⁵

Thus both of the compromise efforts of the committee had failed. The Crittenden Compromise had been defeated by the Republicans, and the Seward proposition by the Southerners. The latter propositions did not deal with the real issue, "slavery in the territories." Various other sets of resolutions were introduced, but all knew that the decision must rest upon these two. Having failed to agree, the committee reported thus to the Senate, December 31st.⁷⁶

Where shall we place the responsibility for the failure? Some have placed it upon the Republican members of the committee, since their votes actually defeated the effort. Others have placed it upon Lincoln because of his influence over Seward, the leader of the Republicans. The whole problem rests upon the question, whether or not Mr. Lincoln's wishes in the matter would have influenced the three or four irreconcilable members of the committee, Wade, Collamer, Grimes and possibly Doolittle, to have changed their votes in favor of compromise on the territorial question. The change of any two of the above members would have secured the compromise, as it was

understood that the Senate would accept the committee's recommendation.

Mr. Lincoln's position on the slavery question was well known. Even how much he would yield to a compromise at this specific time was known. Replying to a letter from Congressman William Kellog, of Illinois, asking advice, he wrote on December 11th: "Entertain no proposition for a compromise in regard to the extension of slavery. The instant you do, they have us under again. All our labor is lost, and sooner or later it will have to be done over. The tug has to come, and better now than later."⁷⁷ On December 13th, he wrote to Congressman E. B. Washburne, also of Illinois, practically the same thing, and asked him to prevent the other members of Congress from yielding to a compromise.⁷⁸ To John A. Gilmer, Thurlow Weed and A. H. Stephens, he wrote on December 15th, 17th and 22d, respectively, similar letters. Of course, we have no proof that this information was actually passed around among the Republicans, but presumably it was. Whether or not this indirect information had any influence upon the members of the committee will of course never be known. More definite pressure was to be brought upon the committee than this, however.

At Seward's request, Thurlow Weed visited Lincoln on December 20th to talk over Seward's recent offer of the department of state in the new cabinet. Seward had evidently asked Weed further to ascertain how far Lincoln was willing to yield to a compromise. At any rate, Weed carried back with him a memorandum from Lincoln for the consideration of the Republican members, containing briefly the following points:

1. Congressional enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law, and the trial by jury for the negro.
2. Repeal of all unconstitutional State laws.
3. The Federal Union must be preserved.⁷⁹

Seward was called back to Washington earlier than he expected by the meeting of the committee of thirteen, and, consequently, talked with Thurlow Weed only on the trip from Syracuse to Albany.⁸⁰ Weed gave him verbally the substance of Lincoln's suggestions, and Seward accordingly introduced the three resolutions mentioned above,⁸¹ based on what he understood the suggestions to contain. These resolutions were supported unanimously by the Republican members. But when, on December 26th, the written form of the Lincoln memorandum was received from Weed, it was not introduced into the committee at all, partly because the Republicans thought the ground fairly well covered, but also partly because Lincoln's emphasis upon congressional enforcement of the Fugitive Slave law would divide the Republicans, not only in the committee, but in Congress, many of whom held that the execution of the law was a state matter.⁸²

It will be recalled that indirect congressional enforcement of this law was in substance one of the propositions of the Crittenden Compromise,⁸³ and hence Lincoln's proposition was more radical than the Republicans on the committee were willing to accept,

and they refused to submit it to the committee for that reason.

I, therefore, come to the following conclusion:

1. Since the social, economic and political background of Wade, Collamer, Grimes and possibly Doolittle, respectively, was such as to cause them to vote against any compromise on the extension of slavery, and

2. Since Seward's arrival in Washington with the verbal suggestions from Lincoln, through Weed, occurred December 24th, two days after the Crittenden Compromise had been voted down, and hence the suggestions could not have influenced the vote of the other four Republicans on the committee, and

3. Since Lincoln's written memorandum, in so far as it differed from the personal views of these Republicans, was actually voted down outside of the committee; therefore, the responsibility for this immediate decision rests not upon Mr. Lincoln, but upon the Republican leaders in the committee and in Congress. This does not, however, change the moral aspect of the situation. On the vital issues of the controversy, Lincoln's views were identical with those of the leading Republicans, both in and out of the committee, and he was as much responsible for the war as anyone, *but not for the decision of the committee*. His adoption of a conciliatory policy would undoubtedly have influenced enough Republicans in Congress to have secured the passage of the compromises. The trouble was that in appointing the leaders of the Republicans to the committee, the Vice-President had chosen the irreconcilables. I do not say that he could have appointed more moderate men and still secured men whom the Republicans in Congress would follow, but simply that the appointment of irreconcilables to the committee made a decision practically impossible.

⁷⁷ Tarbell, *Life of Lincoln*, II, 183.

⁷⁸ Greeley, *American Conflict*, I, 385-9.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 360-361.

⁸⁰ *Congressional Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., 121.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 131.

⁸² Chadwick, *Causes of the Civil War*, 159-160.

⁸³ Davis, *Rise and Fall of Conf. Gov't*, I, 58-59.

⁸⁴ Richardson, *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V, 626-659.

⁸⁵ Seward, II, 480.

⁸⁶ Salter, *Grimes*, 131-132.

⁸⁷ Seward, II, 481.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 481.

⁹⁰ Davis, *Rise and Fall of Conf. Gov't*, I, 60.

⁹¹ *Proceedings*, Mass. Hist. Society, 1909-10, Vol. 43, 660.

⁹² Seward, II, 478.

⁹³ *Proceedings*, Mass. Hist. Society, 1909-10, Vol. 43, 658.

⁹⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 1-4.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 83.

⁹⁸ *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 114.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 182.

¹⁰⁰ *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 158.

¹⁰¹ *National Encyclopedia of Am. Biog.*, XIII, 7-8.

¹⁰² *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 24.

¹⁰³ *Nat'l Encyclopedia of Amer. Biog.*, XIII, 6-7.

¹⁰⁴ *Letters in Colman*, Crittenden.

- ²⁰ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 112-114.
²¹ Johnson, S. A. Douglas, 150-151.
²² Johnson, S. A. Douglas, 161.
²³ *Ibid.*, 153.
²⁴ *Ibid.*, 446-7.
²⁵ Nat'l Cyclo. of Amer. Biog., II, 288-9.
²⁶ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 48.
²⁷ *Ibid.*, 401.
²⁸ Dodd, Davis, 190-191.
²⁹ Davis, Rise and Fall of Conf. Gov't, I, 57-58.
³⁰ *Ibid.*, Singleton's Letter, I, 58-59.
³¹ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 29.
³² *Ibid.*, 30.
³³ Nat'l Cyclo. of Am. Biog., IV, 392-3.
³⁴ Speech quoted in Phillips, Life of Toombs, 179-83.
³⁵ *Ibid.*, 200-201.
³⁶ Speech quoted in the Phillips, Life of Toombs, 206.
³⁷ *Ibid.*, 208.
³⁸ Telegram in Phillips, Life of Toombs, 209-210.
³⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.
⁴⁰ Nat'l Cyclo. of Am. Biog., IX, 158-9.
⁴¹ Memoir of R. M. T. Hunter by Martha Hunter, 113-114.
⁴² Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., 1909-10, Vol. 43, 659.
Henry Adams in 1907.
⁴³ Seward, 478.
⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 479.
⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 480.
⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 480-481.
⁴⁷ Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Soc., 1909-10, Vol. 43, 669, 679.
⁴⁸ Vollweiler, Cong. Career of B. T. Wade, 1-7.
⁴⁹ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 99-104.
⁵⁰ Nat'l Cyclo. of Am. Biog., IV, 371.
⁵¹ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 119-120.
⁵² Salter, Grimes, 54.
⁵³ *Ibid.*, Letter to the people of Iowa, 47.
⁵⁴ Salter, Grimes; Letter to his wife, 132.
⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 133-135.
⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 137.
⁵⁷ Salter, Grimes, 33-117.
⁵⁸ Nat'l Cyclo. of Am. Biog., IV, 382.
⁵⁹ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 9.
⁶⁰ Cong. Globe, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 197-8.
⁶¹ Journal, Senate Reports, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 2.
⁶² See Ante., page six-seven.
⁶³ Journal, Senate Reports, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 3-6.
⁶⁴ See Ante., page seven.
⁶⁵ Journal, Senate Reports, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 6-7.
⁶⁶ Journal, Senate Reports, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 10-11, 13-14.
⁶⁷ Journal, Senate Reports, 36th Cong., IInd Sess., 18.
⁶⁸ Nicolay and Hay, Complete Works, Vol. I, 637-8.
⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 658.
⁷⁰ Bancroft, Life of Seward, II, 10.
⁷¹ Seward, II, 484.
⁷² *Ibid.*, 37 or see ante, pp. twenty-one.
⁷³ Seward's letter to Lincoln, Dec. 26th, Seward, II, 481.
⁷⁴ Article 5.

Conference on College Course in American History, New Haven, December 28, 1922

The problems of the College Course in American History were discussed at a luncheon conference. The speakers were Professor Bond, of the University of Cincinnati; Professor Schlesinger, of the University of Iowa; Professor Gabriel, of Yale University; and Professor Fox, of Columbia University. Professor Stephenson, of the College of Charleston, acted as Chairman.

As no discussion followed the addresses, it is difficult to say how the large group of teachers and writers of history reacted to the views set forth. What these views were is indicated by the abstracts which follow. To judge from the applause accorded various utterances, it seems fair to say that the conference was generally of one mind upon several things: upon the need of thorough reconsideration of the course; upon establishing the roots of modern American life in the colonial period; upon using the course as a training in historical criticism, as well as for more obvious purposes; upon injecting into it a richer human point of view.

Professor Bond evoked affirmation by his insistence on the need of new methods. Apparently the conference was of one mind with Professor Gabriel in his plea for teaching critical analysis of historical writing for realizing that history in the secondary works is presented through the medium of the author's personality. There could be no doubt that Professor Fox touched a responsive note when he emphasized the need for humanism, even for humor, in the presentment of history to the undergraduate. Perhaps the heartiest applause followed Professor Schles-

inger's declaration that the history of America must be presented in perfect fearlessness, without any regard to the likes or dislikes of any particular group of Americans.

N. W. S.

THE AIM OF THE GENERAL COURSE IN AMERICAN HISTORY AND ITS PLACE IN THE COLLEGE CURRICULUM

BY PROFESSOR BEVERLEY W. BOND, JR.,
UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

The special phases of the problems relating to the General Course in American History which I propose to discuss are, the aims of the course and its place in the college curriculum. In treating such important problems in a fifteen-minute talk, I realize that it is possible only to suggest certain essential considerations that cannot be ignored in any really serious attempt to arrive at a conclusion. Moreover, the chief value of a discussion of this type must come, not from pedagogical theorizing, but rather from tentative conclusions that have been reached as a result of practical experience. Consequently, I feel that no apology is needed if I refer constantly to my own experience in working out a general course in American history at the University of Cincinnati.

A discussion, too, of the aims and the place in the curriculum of this course will necessarily infringe somewhat upon other phases of the general subject that are to be emphasized by the speakers who will follow me. But such overlapping is unavoidable, and

especially will the teacher of history realize that there are few, if any, pedagogical problems in history that can be adequately discussed without regard to the course as a whole. Lastly, I would prefer to define the *general* as the *fundamental* course, and will assume throughout my discussion that this interpretation has been conceded.

Although the question of the aims of the general course in American history cannot be entirely separated from the problem of its place in the college curriculum, let us first consider the latter. Such a consideration necessarily involves the distinction between the junior and the senior college. Personally I am strongly of the opinion, and I believe it is generally conceded that fundamental, extensive courses should be given in the junior college, and that intensive work should come in the senior college. This division will lay, in the junior college, the necessary foundation, for example, for advanced work in American history in the senior college. Also, it is important to remember that classes are usually very large in the junior college, and that many of the students will not take further courses in a particular field. Thus, it becomes necessary to plan the junior college course in such fashion as to give the average student the general knowledge of American history which should be the possession of every really educated American.

History is the subject that lends itself readily to the distinction between the junior and the senior college. The general courses in Ancient, European, English and American history naturally belong in the junior college, and the more intensive work in these subjects should come in the senior college. In method especially is the division of history into junior and senior college courses strikingly illustrated. The student in the junior college is much less mature than the one in the senior college, or at least theoretically we like to think so. Therefore it is very questionable whether merely general lectures, without a searching oral quiz and a careful attention to method, will secure definite results in the junior college. The very nature of the general course, covering as it must a very extended field, makes essential a careful checking up of the student's work. On the other hand, the work in the senior college should be more suggestive in nature, and there should not be the same need for such careful drill. If this difference in method is conceded, the general course in American history must necessarily be given in the junior college.

The next problem is to choose in the junior college between the Freshman and the Sophomore years, as the suitable place for this course. Unhesitatingly, I would put general American history in the Sophomore year, a decision that is based upon a practical experience that, I am sure, has been similar to that of many of my colleagues in the field of American history. A careful investigation of the situation in the high schools of Cincinnati showed that, in the second year, approximately 40 per cent of the students were enrolled in the Ancient history course, in the third year about 20 per cent were in European history, and in the fourth year about 60 per cent were in American history.

Under these circumstances, if the general course in American history were to be given in the Freshman year, two fundamental and closely related defects in the course would be apparent. First, a large number of the students would lack the background of European history that is so necessary for a really broad-minded conception of American history; and secondly, the college course would be a mere repetition, perhaps a little more extensive and analytical, of what had already been taken up in the preceding year at the high school. The results are obvious. How, for example, can a student comprehend the influence of the French Revolution, or of the immigrant upon American thought and institutions, unless he possesses a European background? Moreover, the Freshman year, coming in between the two courses in American history, in the high school and in the college, will or certainly should develop maturity of thought in addition to an enlarged background. As a result, it should be possible to work out, in the Sophomore year, a course that would meet the oft-repeated query of the non-historical world: why take American history both in the high school and the college?

In any discussion of the aims of the course, a fundamental consideration is the practical situation already touched upon, that a very large proportion of the students in general American history will take no further work in the subject. This fact, then, determines an important aim, to choose the subject matter of the course so as to afford the best possible foundation for a broad and intelligent appreciation of the economic, social and political forces that have developed the American nation. Any mention of this aim necessarily involves an encroachment upon that phase of the general subject of this discussion which is to be emphasized by another speaker,—the content of the course. From actual experience I am strongly convinced that it is impossible to cover the entire field of American history in one year. To meet the needs, then, of the majority of the class, emphasis should be placed upon the period, 1783-1877. This is the really fundamental period in American history, and it should, therefore, form the basis of any general course. Usually I give a sketch of the Colonial and Revolutionary background at the beginning of the course, with a similar hasty survey, at the end, of Recent American history. But detailed courses in Colonial and Revolutionary history, and in Recent American history should be given in the senior college or else in the graduate school. In the junior college the emphasis should be placed upon the period, 1783-1877, the backbone of American history.

Still another consideration which will partially dictate the aims of the course is the fact that the majority of the students in general American history will not probably become research specialists or historical scholars. They are, however, rather live young Americans who, by the proper means, can be roused to a really keen appreciation of, and interest in the forces that have developed the United States. If they are given the essentials of American history, they can at least appreciate frequent references in more serious literature, and perhaps they may even care to do further reading in this field.

Surely it is legitimate to endeavor to arouse real interest in American history. In fact, as a nation we have been too much inclined to neglect this aim, even more, perhaps, in the colleges than in the secondary schools. The divided allegiance of many so-called American citizens has been, I believe, somewhat responsible for the vogue of European history, but upon the crest of the wave of Americanism that is now sweeping the country, American history should come in for due recognition. By really live courses, by reading assignments, especially in the interesting and readable historical literature that is now being produced, the interest of even the average student may be so aroused that he will continue to read American history and biography after his college days are over. While I do not believe in American history that is narrowly sectional I find that my own students at Cincinnati take a keen interest in the history of the Old Northwest, and that the momentum thus gained is of great aid in other phases of American history. Moreover, the general course may be regarded as the recruiting ground for specialized courses, a consideration that should not by any means be lightly cast aside.

There is, however, a pitfall which the instructor must avoid, one which is of special danger when he tries purposely to arouse interest in his course. This is the failure to secure the really valuable and careful intellectual training that should be an important aim of the history course. Even in a general course where the majority of the students are not destined to become historical specialists, accuracy in detail, a careful training in historical analysis, constitute a part, and an exceedingly important one, of this course. These ends then afford an aim that should never be lost sight of, however crowded may be the general course with its mass of information.

Perhaps, in conclusion, I may be allowed to make a special plea for the general course in American history. To the American historian its work is fundamental, if he desires to create a widespread and intelligent audience which is interested in American history. If the general course fails to attract the college student, then American history for college bred men or women,—or at least the mass of them,—will dry up at its sources. A heavy pedantic course may hold a few earnest and scholarly souls, but not the majority of the students. Thus, the all-important basis of the entire work in American history, the general course, should enlist the finest intellectual and pedagogical ability in the department of history. Actually, in my opinion, its demands are greater than those of the more intensive courses. Unfortunately, teachers of American history too often regard the general course as a necessary evil, and concentrate their attention upon the more intensive courses in the senior college or in the graduate school.

I have merely made certain tentative suggestions. Their value, if they have any, arises from the fact that they are the outgrowth of practical experience. Doubtless others who have faced somewhat different conditions will not wholly agree with me, but there

is no specific and single method to fix dogmatically the aims and the place in the curriculum of the general course in American history.

CONTENT OF THE GENERAL COLLEGE COURSE IN UNITED STATES HISTORY

BY PROFESSOR ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER,
UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

It is difficult to generalize on the subject of the content of the general college course in United States history. Circumstances alter cases; and the detailed subject-matter presented in the general course is necessarily affected by the local conditions prevailing in the college offering the course,—by such considerations as the number of class hours assigned to the course, the scholastic preparation of the students admitted to the class, and the relation of the course to other courses in and out of the history department. This discussion will ignore the special peculiarities and local adaptations required by a specific situation and focus attention upon those themes and conceptions which should be common to all general courses in United States history.

PERIOD COVERED.

The general course should, in my opinion, be concerned almost exclusively with the period since 1763, that is with the formation, development and expansion of the American nation. The era of colonial beginnings should be treated briefly and swiftly, at the opening of the course, to bring into bold relief those abilities, ideals, decisions and institutions which played a vital part in later American history. A more intensive study of colonial history should be consigned to a special advanced course. This is already a very common practice, and it is justified by the fact that, whereas the older textbooks left American history suspended in the air about 1876, teachers of the present generation have come to believe that it is more important for students to acquire a knowledge of the historical background of their own times than to give a detailed consideration to the period of colonial origins. I am not in sympathy, however, with a recent tendency to compress all earlier national history into an introductory passage to the events since the Civil War. In many fundamental respects the advent of Jackson to the presidency marks a logical break between the work of the two semesters, and this plan serves further to distribute the attention of the course with due recognition of the relative importance of the earlier and more recent periods of our history.

BASIC VIEWPOINTS.

In treating this subject-matter the teacher should constantly keep in mind the two basic respects in which the American people stand apart from the people of any modern European country. In the first place, the makers of United States history have been, in the main, a nation of free people living on farms and in small country towns in a condition of economic independence. The American people thus came to develop those mental predispositions, psychological traits and economic wants peculiar to such a

manner of living. The agricultural environment has been an ever-present factor, usually the controlling factor, in all the great decisions which the American people have made with reference to governmental policies. One needs only to recall that Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Roosevelt and Wilson found their chief sources of support in the farming regions,¹ and that the leading policies of these statesmen mirrored the needs and aspirations of the rural constituency of their times. Only for brief intervals have the great cities and industrial centers dominated the American scene; and in large part their activities have represented the pathology rather than the physiology of American society. While this generalization is less true today than it was fifty years ago, a majority of the American people still live in farm communities and in towns of less than eight thousand population, and the recent operations of the farm bloc indicate that American politics may be in process of regaining its former equipoise.

A second consideration of major importance is the fact that European colonization did not cease in 1763 but has, as a matter of fact, been numerically larger in the period of national independence than at any time before. These incoming tides of Europeans have made great contributions to American development in all fields, have given us some of our greatest men, and have helped to produce a breed of people that is neither English nor German nor Irish but "American." Immigration cannot be dismissed merely as a "problem"; it has been one of the great constructive forces in the making of America, and due account of it must be taken by the teacher at each new turn of our history.

MAIN STREAMS OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

Since it is manifestly impossible to present all the facts of United States history in the general course, a selection must be made of the events and movements to be treated. The principle of selection employed may be haphazard and capricious; but the wise teacher will seek firmer anchorage. He will endeavor to group his subject-matter and organize his discussion around the great pivotal themes of American development, and subordinate or ignore all other interests. Of such themes there are four: the struggle for national unity, the struggle for democracy, the economic and technological revolution, and social reform. These topics lend themselves to endless elaboration; but only a word of explanation may be given concerning each at this time.

By the first theme is meant a study of the divisive and integrating forces of the American nation as manifested by the activities of geographic sections, economic groupings, and racial elements. In the period before the Civil War, the contest for a united country was waged by geographic sections which coincided with economic groupings; and the war itself settled the issue of geographic solidarity that was

raised by that conflict. Since the Civil War the struggle for nationalism and nationality has assumed a new and not less portentous form. The contest in this later phase has been conducted by contending economic groups, which have frequently not coincided with geographic areas, and by unassimilated racial elements often independent of either common economic ties or a common geographic environment. The long conflict over national unity has produced the great constitutional documents of United States history, for the people have paused from time to time to make a written memorandum of their convictions and aspirations. As a result we have the two constitutions, that of 1781 and that of 1789, and we have what is tantamount to a third constitution in the constructions which the Supreme Court has placed upon the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868.

Democracy, as a theme of American history, should be conceived as a goal toward which the American people have struggled and which, when they have placed hands on it, has advanced at once beyond their reach. Democracy was not established by the Declaration of Independence; and indeed, in one sense, the history of the United States may be envisaged as an effort to catch up with the preamble of that document. The battle between democracy and privilege has been waged in all departments of American life; but in the general college course, the emphasis may well be placed upon the struggle for the extension of the franchise (successively to all white men, both races and all women), upon the growth of religious toleration, and upon the establishment and spread of free, tax-supported schools.

The economic revolution and the great advances in scientific knowledge constitute another vital trend of American history. A consideration of these forces goes far toward explaining both why the average person today enjoys more conveniences of life than did George Washington in his time and why colossal wealth and wretched poverty have come to exist side by side in the America of today. The whole slavery struggle rested, in final analysis, upon the invention of a Connecticut schoolmaster sojourning in Georgia; and the contest of economic classes which has characterized the period since the Civil War may be explained by the growing tyranny of what Arthur Pound has called the "Iron Man in Industry." Likewise the rise of the United States to the position of a world power owes its explanation in large part to the industrial transformation of the nation in the last half-century. The accumulation of a superabundance of commodities and a surplus of capital in this country caused the attention of our diplomats inevitably to turn to the backward and undeveloped regions of the globe, with the result that the United States has acquired a lusty brood of dependencies and protectorates which can never hope to become equal members of the Union.

No phase of our history is of greater consequence, and none more generally neglected, than that of social reform. The story of the constant struggle to improve the standards of American life should prove a source of inspiration and encouragement to all who

¹This statement requires some modification in the case of Lincoln, for one great agricultural section devoted to the production of a specialized crop opposed Lincoln's election to the extent of undertaking a war for separation.

seek an amelioration of social and economic conditions today. The federal land policy, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, governmental protection of community health, the growth of scientific philanthropy, the increasing emphasis upon the conservation of childhood, and the abolition of the saloon suggest some of the topics which merit treatment. Although the anti-slavery movement occupies considerable space in the history course, it derives its importance from the fact that it became a national issue and not because it was a great humanitarian enterprise; how else can one account for the disregard of the negro's plight in the South after the period of Reconstruction?

WORLD SETTING OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

The times call for a more intelligent treatment of the United States in its world setting than has ordinarily been given. The Declaration of Independence did not achieve a separation of American history from European history; properly speaking, the United States has never occupied a position of isolation, either "splendid" or otherwise. The constant attention which our statesmen from early times have paid to wars and the prevention of wars indicates how closely our national destiny has been entwined with the aspirations and ambitions of other countries. The peaceful invasions of our shores from time to time by immigrant throngs have modified the course of our domestic development and have given the American people new ideals as well as new prejudices to guide them in their dealings with foreign countries. In passing, it is worth recalling that America has made a contribution to world history by furnishing refuge and often encouragement to such diverse personages as Thomas Paine, Talleyrand, Miranda, Louis Phillippe, Louis Napoleon, Kossuth, Clemenceau, Trotzky and De Valera.

But the essential connection of United States history with world history remains yet to be noted, and unfortunately is never touched upon by the textbooks used in the general course. Students should come to realize that, in a large sense, the history of the United States is merely the cis-Atlantic phase of a mighty world current of development common to both Europe and America.² The four great themes of American history—national unity, democracy, economic and technological revolution, and social reform—are not peculiar to the United States at all but are equally the possessions of Western Europe during the same historic period. Mute forces were at work which transcended international boundaries and the barriers of race and shaped the political and social development of the western peoples along substantially identical lines. While these movements had their local variations and peculiarities in each country, the fact needs to be noted that their similarities and parallelisms are more striking than their differences.

² Professor Charles H. Haskins expressed the same thought, in more felicitous language, in his presidential address at the New Haven meeting. See *American Historical Review*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 226-227, January, 1923.

Time permits only a few illustrations. The revolutionary era which began in America in 1776 did not stop until France was convulsed with revolution in 1789. The early thirties were a period of democratic upheaval and national aspiration on both shores of the Atlantic. The famous revolutionary year of 1848 in Europe had its counterpart in the United States in 1850, although actual armed conflict was averted in the latter case by the skill of the elder statesmen at Washington in devising a makeshift compromise. The abolition movement was an international movement with some of its greatest leaders in England, and the triumphs of the reform were recorded successively in the new Latin American republics, in the West Indian islands of Great Britain, and, in the sixties, in Russia and the United States. National unity, which was achieved about the same time by Italy, Germany and Austria-Hungary, was achieved anew by the United States through the fiery ordeal of the Civil War. Since 1870 many of the problems with which American statesmen have wrestled were problems with which European nations were coping at the same time in much the same way. Civil service reform, the free silver movement, tariff reform, woman suffrage, labor welfare legislation, and socialism may serve as illustrations of great movements that were operating on a world-wide scale during this period. The struggle for the possession of backward countries and world trade which began in Europe in the seventies was joined by the United States at the close of the century; and the participation of America in the World War was a formal recognition of an international solidarity of interests which had existed for many years.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS.

In an age when the control of history teaching is being sought by racial, religious, economic and other organized groups, it behooves the history teacher to pledge himself anew to the mission of presenting to his students a truthful account of American history. There is no conflict between truth and patriotism rightly conceived. After all, the trouble with tainted history is, 't ain't history. It is equally necessary that students should carry away from the general course a sense of the modifiable character of American institutions. The history of the United States is the history of a dynamic, not a static, society, and the hope of democracy in America lies in the perfectibility of its institutions.

THE METHOD OF THE GENERAL COURSE IN AMERICAN HISTORY

BY RALPH H. GABRIEL, ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
OF HISTORY, YALE UNIVERSITY

There is a difference in point of view and purpose between the teacher and the scholar; the latter is interested primarily in the subject, the former in the student. For the teacher, the subject is merely a means to an end—the instrument with which he makes an impression on the student's life. The whole problem of the method of handling a general course—not only in American history but in any history—hangs

primarily on this proposition. The objective in such a course must be two-fold: to give the student a certain body of knowledge and a point of view with regard to the development of our nation that will enable him to manage more intelligently his life within it and to give him certain mental habits which will be of permanent value to him. The number of facts which he knows at the end of the course is of relatively minor significance. The important thing is what the course will mean to him ten or twenty years after he has taken it.

Another basic proposition which has to be considered in the organization of the general course is that old truism that, after all, the teacher must capitalize his own professional training and his own personality. There can be only a minimum of formal method. The teacher in a large course, where there are a number of instructors, should be given a maximum of free play. The way in which we have attempted to solve that problem in the general course at Yale is to put all the instructors on an equal footing, to make each man entirely responsible for his students, and to let him—given certain general guiding principles to which all agree—work out his course in his own way. We do not use a cut and dried syllabus; nor do we use the system of a general lecture given by the man in charge of the course, to be followed up by quiz sections conducted by the others cooperating with him. Equality of opportunity and responsibility among all instructors seems to make for an effective solution of the problem.

In discussing method, little is to be gained by abstract generalities. For that reason, the Yale course is used as a concrete illustration of certain principles and purposes which underlie it. It is not proposed as a model, but merely as a tangible working out of certain principles. The course uses almost entirely for its reading *The Chronicles of America*, going through them at the rate of about a volume per week. One or two other volumes are used, but the *Chronicles* form the basis of the work. The student is required to make very careful notes on his reading for the week. He is also required to keep notes on the classroom exercises. The notebooks are examined at the end of the term and play a part in determining a man's grade. The weekly test comes after the student has read the book, but before it has been discussed in class.

There are three principles which have governed the organization of this course. Its primary function is and must be to arouse interest, not only in specific problems but in history and the historical point of view. It is felt that if the student is not interested, the other objectives of the course will fail. If an impression that is to last is to be made on him, his mind must be aroused—set on fire, if you will. One can mold iron only when it is hot. Although there are many interesting and stimulating books in American history, the *Chronicles of America* have seemed to be the most satisfactory solution of that problem. As time goes on, undoubtedly other books will be added.

The second purpose which underlies the course is, to give the student constant training and practice in analysis. He is required to take a volume and analyze it formally, chapter by chapter, in his notebook. With guidance, the practice of doing this for a year tends to develop a habit which is likely to become a permanent contribution to his mental outfit. Moreover, this constant analysis of authors, looking at their particular subjects from widely divergent points of view, inevitably develops a critical attitude toward those authors. This tendency is furthered by requiring each student to use the little pamphlet called *The New Historians*, which contains a little sketch of each of the authors of the *Chronicles of America*. The student gets an idea of the personality behind the book.

The third purpose of the course is to be found in the system of weekly tests and in the final examination. The student, compelled to analyze for himself a volume and also, at the end of the term, compelled to analyze for himself the course, is required by the type of questions on the tests or examination to synthesize for himself the facts and interpretations that he has picked out. To enforce the development of the habit of clear thinking, the student is given but one question on the weekly test, on which he writes for twenty-five minutes and which he must accompany by a formal outline of his answer. The constant repetition of this tends also to develop a mental habit of great importance.

When the student passes out of college into his chosen work, as a citizen he is faced with the necessity of making that large number of decisions which are the problem of every intelligent and conscientious member of the community. The purpose of teaching history is to give him historical knowledge, and the historical point of view to aid him in making more intelligent decisions. He is not likely to use either unless, while in college, he has developed a lasting interest in history. Moreover, in making his decisions he must go through a considerable body of reading—newspapers, magazines, books. These he must view critically and must analyze. From them he must cull the facts and interpretations upon which his conclusions are to be based. Then, having done so, he must put together or synthesize these facts and interpretations and mold them into the decision itself. The mental habits which are stressed in the Yale course are, we believe, the mental habits required of good citizenship. The building-up of these habits is of greater importance than the mere teaching of the facts of history, important as that is. The student, rather than the subject, is and must be the center of interest.

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The Purpose of an Outline Course in History for College Classes

BY PROFESSOR FRANKLIN C. PALM, UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Very few students enter an outline course in history with a concrete idea as to the purpose or value of this study. To most of them it is a part of the requirement for graduation. A few may take it as a prerequisite for more advanced work in history or in an allied subject; but the majority elect the course because it might be easy, it comes at a convenient hour, or it will fulfil their group requirements. Offered as a general elective, the outline course draws a number of good students, indeed, but also attracts many who are immature, listless and indifferent and not particularly interested in this subject or any other.

The teacher of this course has a real problem—but not an impossible one—namely, to arouse the interest of this heterogeneous class and sustain it throughout the year. He should realize at once that this problem resolves itself into an attempt to produce a favorable reaction between the student, the subject, and the instructor. He furthermore should utilize the first meeting of the class for an initial solution of the problem.

The average student is generally affected by first impressions. He, for example, is apt to react against the customary dry, mechanical announcement of the chronological scope of the course, which, as a rule, is accompanied by a long assignment and a few disconnected suggestions or warnings. Such an introduction will conduce to fear or distrust rather than to interest. A student comes to the first meeting of the class not unfriendly, but rather tolerant and curious. Every pertinent word or action of the instructor makes an impression upon his plastic mind. If he receives a few formal directions he returns to the next meeting of the class less receptive than before and more difficult to approach. The instructor has failed to obtain an initial hold upon him and has lost an opportunity to awaken his interest. If, on the other hand, the teacher omits the assignment and, instead, stimulates the interest of the student by means of a brief but enthusiastic introduction to his course, the latter may return with a new interest in the study.

The average American student is practical, and, unfortunately perhaps, inclined to be materialistic. An education, to him, is a short road to wealth, or at least to a good position; and he judges his college work upon that basis. The teacher, as a rule, even though he may deprecate the materialistic conception of an education, must recognize this general characteristic and base his appeal to the student primarily upon the practical nature of the work. Insisting that this study does possess value, he should emphasize in the first lecture the function of history and of his particular course. His campaign against gross materialism can wait until after he has captured the interest of his pupils. The student, on the other

hand, may not appreciate the immediate economic value of the study, but if he can be led to see that the subject is practical in that it constitutes the story of mankind, or of human life, he at least will be ready to listen. An extract cited from a lecture given by the present writer at the first meeting of his large class in modern European history, in which he attempts to define the subject and emphasize its importance, might serve to illustrate the remarks made above.

"What is the importance of history? This problem may possibly be solved by answering two questions: (1) What is history? (2) Why should we study history? It is the most universal of all subjects, yet many people disagree as to its meaning and merits.

"History is indeed a difficult subject to define. Derived from the Greek work *istoria*, which means learning or knowing by inquiry, history comes to us from the Ionians of the sixth century B. C. and is the name they gave to their achievements. It meant, not the telling of a tale, but the search for knowledge and truth. Every age, however, has declared for itself as to what that search or inquiry shall be and what subjects are worth knowing as history. One idea, however, has been common by usage, namely, that history is the story of mankind.

"Numerous definitions, nevertheless, have appeared. Mention might first be made of the moral definition which maintains that history is that study which tells the people the distinction between good and bad—the laws of right and wrong. The political definition of history was at one time ably supported by the historian Freeman when he wrote that 'History is the science of man in his political character. History is past politics and politics present history.' Other historians have defined history in terms of nationalism and used the subject as a means to stimulate patriotism; for example, the historians Bancroft, Bernhardt and Treitschke. We also have an economic definition of history as the story of man's efforts to gain a livelihood. According to this, economic phenomena alone are of permanent interest. Today we hear much of social explanations of history, as a study of man in his social relations. Of course, according to this interpretation, the social phenomena are of paramount importance.

"Professor Franklin H. Giddings in his 'Studies in the Theory of Human Society' has given to us the latest social definition of history. In this work he says that history is a human behavior. 'It is,' he continues, 'a stream of behavior rising obscurely in time, making for itself a devious channel fed by countless tributaries of collective action and broadly flowing now into the mist that hides an unexplored hereafter.' Later on Dr. Giddings defines the participants in the behavior that is history as the instinctive, experi-

mental, or premeditative multitudes—the peoples—all of whom have been adventurers. 'History,' he concludes, 'is adventure, and the urge to adventure is the cause of history.'

"History, however, is more than the patriotic, political, religious, economic, or social interpretation of man's deeds. To define the subject in terms of any one condition is to limit the scope of this fundamental study. Herodotus, the Greek historian, possessed a modern view of history when he wrote that he wished to relate not only the glorious actions of the forefathers, but to give reasons for them as well. He maintained, in other words, that he published his researches in order to set down the deeds of the Barbarians and Greeks so that they could not be lost, and to tell what they did and why they did it. Professor Fling, in his *Writing of History*, in a sense repeats the above definition, in an evolutionary way, when he says, that 'History is the unique evolution of man in his activities as a social being.' Why not, for the sake of clarity, simply say that history is that study which relates and accounts for the past activities of mankind? This is a general definition, but the subject itself is broad. Such was the case three hundred years ago when Sir Walter Raleigh attempted to write a great history of the world beginning with the fall of Adam and carrying the story down to his day. A worthy work indeed, but consider the additions to the narrative since his time. The attempts to investigate the World War and its aftermath as we look at it now will be a colossal task. At the present moment the Near Eastern crisis, pre-saging a possible European conflict, attracts our attention. What are the forces behind the trouble? Future historians alone can answer that question. The scope of history arouses our awe; it necessitates a general definition.

"Let us turn now to a consideration of the second question. Why should we study history? In the first place, it offers the best means to equip ourselves for a man's ordinary duties of life. It helps one to live, for in order to understand the present one must understand the past. In fact, a knowledge of history will not only enable us to meet present problems but also prepare us to do our part in a continuation of the achievements of the past. Great deeds as expressed in the lives of the famous men of history should both encourage and guide us in our efforts to be worthy of our inheritance.

"History, in this connection, offers an almost personal contact with the men of the past. We of today, for example, have an opportunity of knowing Napoleon better than that of most of his contemporaries. The wealth of what we call source material, contemporary accounts—such as the letters and newspapers of Napoleon's time—enables us to study this great leader of men and to know him and be instructed by his weakness and his strength. He is but one of the many heroes of the past. Recall the fascinating life of Saint Francis of Assisi, for example, the founder of the Franciscan society—an order of poverty and service to others. His career constitutes the ideal of the true humanitarian life. The deeds

of great men do indeed live after them; they are worthy of our consideration.

"History, furthermore, may very well create in us a patriotic love for our country. When we consider the problems of Europe, the political, economic, and social disturbances, we should appreciate our native land for what she offers, especially when we see what the other nations lack. But history should not limit us to a consideration of our place within the confines of our native land. It should enlighten us as to our place in life.

"Whither are we going? What is our aim in life? These questions are explained by history. It shows us our place in human society, and assists in the explanation of life and all its problems. Furthermore, it does so in an optimistic way. Life is confident progress. We are advancing, in spite of the evils of the World War and the menace of the present crisis—which are, doubtless, future blessings. All bad events, history shows us, are preceded by more unfortunate ones. So history should harden us and give us courage to face the present. We should find in the study of our institutional past—the origin of the church, of civil and criminal law, and the jury system—the interpretation of many complex problems of today. History should be of service in the solution of our existing economic problems, such, for example, as the relationship of labor and capital. It should also explain many social problems. Why are we free men and women? History answers this question.

"Consider, in the last place, the cultural value of history. This study explains literature, art, music and science, as well as customs, ideas, and laws. It not only enlarges our vision of knowledge and thereby makes us broad-minded, but trains us in our power of discrimination and judgment. In so doing, history develops the man himself, for it requires above all impartiality and the love of truth. It thus fosters the fundamental teaching in the ethical code of man, namely,—honesty is the best policy."

The extract from the introductory lecture as given above is intended not to appeal to the economic cupidity of the student but rather to his love for the practical in all phases of life. If the pupil should leave the class with increased respect for the fundamental nature of the subject and with the idea that a knowledge of the past is an essential for a man who intends to meet problems of the future, he will likely return to the next meeting of the course with at least friendly tolerance, and the initial problem of how to arouse the interest of the student has been solved.

Let us now turn to the second part of the problem: how to sustain the interest of the student throughout the year. Again the instructor should have in mind the practical nature of the average student. The latter desires above all a definite, well organized course. He wants to know the scope or field of the subject. Very quick to criticize an unsystematic presentation of the material, he at times adds to his desire for the orderly and the practical, a claim for unnecessary assistance. In the organization of the work the instructor should bring out clearly and

definitely the value and scope of the course but, at the same time, he should see to it that the student is placed upon his own responsibility. To be more explicit: a syllabus or an outline ought to be prepared as a guide for the pupil in his readings, but at the same time it should be so arranged that he will be able to follow his own individual preferences so far as the selection of a certain amount of material is concerned. The syllabus should therefore consist of, (1) a brief outline of the subject matter for discussion, (2) a daily or weekly assignment in the text, (3) a list of optional readings from which the student is to make his own selections according to his particular predilections. Care should be taken by the teacher to include material in the optional readings which will illustrate the importance of history and thus appeal to the practical-minded American boy or girl. General histories, biographies, articles in the various encyclopedias or in good magazines, and readings in standard source books should, if selected and presented in a suitable way, not only sustain the general interest of the class but also develop a love of truth, the fundamental of scholarship.

This love of truth can especially be developed through the source reading. But care should be taken in the use of this particular phase of the assignment in an elementary course. The instructor should use the sources to illustrate life, not to develop a series of historical gymnastics called source problems. He should use, for example, an extract from the autobiography of Cellini to illustrate the boundless individuality and versatility of the men of the age, and not wear the pupil out with a dry discussion as to whether or not Cellini wrote the autobiography. Historical problems are appropriate in more advanced classes, but they should have a small place in an elementary course.

Every teacher, however, should select for himself a separate field of research, in order not only to develop his own intellectual powers but likewise to be able to take the class into his confidence, and catch their attention because of his own understanding and enthusiasm. He can relate his own source problems in such a way that the student will desire to participate in similar experiences. Many of them will continue, in order to satisfy this ambition.

Map questions have an important place in a general course. The questions should be made definite, suggestive, and practical. An appeal to the curiosity of the student may well be made so that he will overlook the drudgery of the task.

The instructor can utilize the assignment of historical works for collateral reading, as an opportunity for personal conferences with students. At such meetings he should discuss the historical value of the books being read and attempt to interest the student in the vast store of literature he might explore. In connection with this assignment the students should be required to prepare a bibliography upon the subject of the book selected and thus receive an elementary knowledge, at least, of the preliminary work involved in the preparation of an historical subject. This phase of the work should not be overdone. It

is far more important that the student should leave the course with a fundamental knowledge of the facts of history. He can attempt written work in more advanced courses. Above all, it is important to leave him with a considerable respect for the subject. The lectures, readings, map work and brief bibliographical training, if made practical and human, will accentuate his interest. Then, if at any time he experiences the call for continued achievement in the field of history, he will enter into the more advanced studies with enthusiasm; and the drudgery of the life of a scholar will not succeed in extinguishing the latent interest aroused in his first outline course in history.

But even if he does not continue the study of the subject, the course should indeed have been worth while through having directed his attention to the story of mankind, and above all through inculcating in him a lesson in the sacredness of truth. Because, after all, the primary functions of such a course of study should be not only to guide a few young Americans into the field of higher scholarship, but also to lead all of them into the realms of serviceable citizenship. This aim can be achieved if the instructor, in his initial lecture and in his organization and handling of the course, shall awaken in them an appreciation of the practical value of truth.

COMMUNICATION

February 8, 1923.

The Editor THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

I am making an investigation regarding the removal of teachers of the social studies on disloyalty charges during and since the World War. I am also interested in history textbooks which were discarded during the same period for similar reasons. Inasmuch as a great deal of such information is inaccessible, the coöperation of fellow teachers knowing of such incidents will be greatly appreciated. Names of teachers giving information will be withheld if it should seem desirable. If the readers of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK have any information regarding this matter will they kindly convey it to me?

BESSIE L. PIERCE,

University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa.

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WRITE FOR CATALOGUE

More About College Courses in Foreign Affairs

Winthrop College, Rock Hill, South Carolina,
February 8, 1923.

Editor, *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*:—

I have been interested in the article in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* on College Courses in Foreign Affairs. I am sorry that the Institute for Public Service did not look a little further down the line in its study.

Winthrop College is the largest woman's college in the Southeast, and of its 1368 students 563 are in the History Department. Every student in her Sophomore year, not only those in the Arts and Sciences Course, but also those in the Education Department, and even the small number taking a two-year Education Course, must take one term in Contemporary European History, dealing with the World War, every Junior must take one term in Contemporary American History giving one third of the time to America in the World War; in addition there is one course in Current History, based on a wide reading of Magazines, and there are three courses, elective, in Foreign Affairs,—(1) Latin American History, (2) World Politics (especially World Reconstruction), and (3) Foreign Relations of the United States.

There is also an International Relations Club of 70 members especially studying International Relations in connection with the Institute for International Education. I am sorry to say that this last is not in our catalogue, but the other courses can be found in our current catalogue.

Yours truly,

JAMES ELLIOTT WALMSLEY.

Wesleyan College, Macon, Georgia, February 7, 1923.

Editor, *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*:—

The article "College Courses in Foreign Affairs," published in the February number of the *HISTORICAL OUTLOOK*, presented a need, and described a deficiency, of such real importance to teachers and students of American History as to call for comment and coöperation.

Therefore I am enclosing a brief account of my experience in attempting to cope with this problem, with the hope that it may prove helpful.

Sincerely,

JEANNETTE PADDOCK NICHOLS,
Acting Head of the Department of
History and Sociology.

AN EXPERIMENTAL PROJECT FOR THE STUDY OF "FOREIGN AFFAIRS" IN A SMALL COLLEGE.

The problem of orientating the student in the world of his own time is most difficult in the smaller colleges. In such institutions the rural and semi-urban background of the majority of the students does not encourage innovations by promising any speedy

success. Yet, there, is the individual need all the greater; and there, by the same token, is the ingenuity of the teacher taxed that he may overcome the undergraduate's habitual isolation from current events and broaden his outlook and understanding. An experiment with this object in view is being tried in the history work at Wesleyan College, a girls' school of about 500 enrollment situated in the heart of the South.

At Wesleyan the curriculum requires that every Freshman in her second term shall take a course in Modern European History from 1500 to 1815, and every Sophomore in her first term shall continue this study down to the present. It is via this course that they are introduced from the historical point of view,¹ to foreign affairs of nineteen hundred and now. Unfortunately, Wesleyan is not unlike other colleges of her type and location in that few of the students come equipped with a lively geographical consciousness or any other than the vaguest notions regarding the state of European affairs at the present time. In fact, beyond some hazy ideas regarding the part of the United States in the war of the Allies against Germany and others, they are destitute of anything approaching internationalmindedness. Consequently they experience a decided intellectual shock when the fact is thrust upon their understanding that to pass "M 1a" or "M 1b" they not only must familiarize themselves with a textbook, but also must search the newspapers and periodicals for the important world developments which transpire while they are taking the course. However, as the semester proceeds, consternation turns to interest in almost every case, and to enthusiasm in many. Parallels between past and present more readily suggest themselves and historical phenomena assume a more familiar, because human, aspect.

Therein lies the second problem. Having developed curiosity as to the present, how may its interest and appeal be prevented from crowding out discussion of the earlier period, which is, after all, the period of history prescribed by the catalogue? Furthermore, is it fair to the student carrying five subjects, of which one at least may be a laboratory course, to ask that she simultaneously keep up on Charles the Fifth and the Lausanne Conference, the culture of the Sixteenth Century and the Ruhr Invasion? To meet these difficulties requires continual watchfulness, that the time allotted to past and current events in the lecture and discussion periods be fairly divided and that parallels be apt, rather than far-fetched. To avoid such pitfalls special safeguards are in use.

In the first place it is persistently urged that all history work, whether in the past or present, be done in the library close to the source materials. For the

¹ The courses in Freshman English and in Journalism also make use of current events.

period covered by the textbook, a full syllabus is placed in the hands of each student, thus saving the time which might be lost in the physical labor of outlining and the mental labor of organization. For the period of the present, suggestions are given the classes, at the outset, upon the problems of finding, organizing and judging, the material presented in newspapers and periodicals. Twice a month bibliographical lists of the more reliable current articles are compiled and posted in the library for reference work, and an entire period is devoted to organized discussion of the facts therein presented. Two things are absolutely eschewed—formal notebooks and minimum requirements as to time spent and pages covered. Each student knows that her work will be judged by her contributions to class discussion, her efforts in examinations and her showing upon a term paper in a field of her special choice, a project described as a "problem discussion" which may be in the field of past or present.

The actual amount of time consumed by the students in the preparations for this combined course in Modern European History and Foreign Affairs is hard to estimate. A census of the students taking the work during the past term, and conferences with class representatives indicated that they had spent more time upon their history work than some of their other courses; also that the history became an exceptionally frequent topic of conversation and comment among them. These evidences of increased interest and effort were testified to when the end of the term showed an improvement in attitude and in concrete

results. Although it is doubtless too early to form any accurate estimate of the success of this term's work with the Freshmen and Sophomores, it is not unfair to look for some permanent result when, after the plan has been improved upon, the same girls take history courses as Juniors and Seniors. At least, when the Freshmen returned to school after the holidays and told, with pride, how they had astounded Dad and Mother with their conversation on Mosul Oil and Reparations, we took a slight measure of hope for the future.

February 16, 1923.

The Editor of THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK:

In your issue of February, 1923, page 62, Hunter College is given credit for a course in "Current Events." We are really not entitled to that credit, for, although the course appears in the catalogue, it was given only once and will be omitted from the next catalogue.

Our department does not believe that a college course in Current Events, strictly speaking, offers the kind of work which college students should do. We would readily agree that a discussion of Current Events is a useful introduction to the consideration of the principles of organization to which college students should give their attention.

This letter is merely to correct the record and to prevent us having credit we do not deserve.

EDGAR DAWSON,
Professor of History.

History As a Social Study¹

BY HARRIET E. TUELL, SOMERVILLE, MASS., HIGH SCHOOL.

To those of us who are interested alike in the teaching of History and in the Social Studies, the fact that the topic, "History as a Social Study," finds a place on this program is very pleasing. For, although History has always been included in the program of the committee on Social Studies of the N. E. A. and has also been recognized by the National Council of Social Studies, there are those who have been inclined to elbow the history teachers out of the Social Studies fold. We, the teachers of History, were held to be of necessity hidebound moss-grown conservatives, guardians of clumsy tradition, by the very nature of our calling the purveyors of a musty and sacrosanct antiquity. Our eyes had been so long fixed upon the past that we were wholly unfit, it was supposed, to cope with the problems of the present. But meantime we have felt that we were not so out of date as might appear. We have held that there were certain objectives of social education which could be reached through the medium of history better than through any other subject.

These special objectives of history teaching may be briefly summarized as follows:

1. History can give background and perspective

to the students' conception of present day society. Through this can be developed a sense of historic continuity and with it a feeling of personal responsibility for the furtherance of human progress. Also, by showing how slow and gradual has been the working of the historic process the study of history provides an antidote for the cocksureness of the revolutionary spirit.

2. The study of history can enlarge the pupils' sympathies and widen his horizons by bringing him to an intelligent understanding of foreign nations and peoples. By this means we may hope to develop a social conscience which will include in its scope all races and peoples.

3. History can enlarge and enrich the students' conception of citizenship by a study of its significance at various times and under varying conditions.

4. Historical study may be a school for the formation of good habits of thought and for practice in reaching sound and reasoned conclusions.

This last is a most important function of historical study. Before we ever heard much of the Social Studies, Prof. Jeremiah Jenks, in the discussion of "The Social Basis for Education"—said, "Primarily—

history should be studied with reference to social causes and results, in order that from the experience of the past we may learn to form social judgments to serve us in the present,—Owing to the uncertain nature of the premises in any social question where our reasoning must depend to a considerable extent upon our knowledge of human motives—motives which are of course as varied and changing as are different people and different nations, we need much experience in studying such premises and in making sound judgments. The study of history gives many opportunities for gaining such experience."² That these are highly important ends, none will deny. That they are peculiarly called for under the conditions of our time, all will agree. Just how history can be made to serve them is another question. And thus far the history teachers themselves, I fear, have not done much to answer it.

Meantime, however, the world outside the school room has been undergoing an educational process which is highly instructive to the teacher. When the war was ended, when "the captains and the kings" departed, the writers and thinkers set themselves to find explanation for recent events in a study of the past. More than ever before, they were led to review history not as a narrative of brilliant events, but as a record of social experiment. Many writers contributed to this view of history, but there are two who stand out pre-eminently as suggestive to the teacher: Mr. H. G. Wells and the late Lord Bryce. They are as dis-similar as possible, of course, not often to be classed together—yet each in his way a powerful force.

Let us take Mr. Wells first. He has done many amazing things in his day. There are few subjects in Heaven or earth that he has not touched on. Just now I see he is advertising even "The Secrets of the Heart." But, altogether his most dazzling performance is this,—that he has succeeded in making a "best seller" out of a huge two-volume "Outline of History." Alone out of all the world he has made the tired business man and the eager club woman not only buy history, but read it and reflect upon it. It is worth our while to find out how he did it. What is the magic that has given this book its vogue? "Not its historical veracity," say the historians. "Not its scientific accuracy," say the scientists. Not altogether its lightness of touch nor its brilliancy of style! The secret of its charm apparently is just this—that it presents history not as "a tale that is told," but as the prelude to human endeavor here and now. It shows the present generation in its relation to the generations that are gone. Through it the man on the street, the average citizen, accustomed to think in terms of the present, understands for the first time what it means to me "the heir of all the ages." He is thrilled by the vision. He may with Mr. Wells, accept the evolutionary theory of man's early history, or he may say with Disraeli and our own Mr. Bryan: "Is man an ape or an angel?" I am on the side of the angels. In either case he cannot fail to be impressed by the slow and toilsome

process through which man has arrived at that degree of social well-being which he now enjoys. In the face of that long journey his mind is steadied and his thought sobered. In other words, at one bound Mr. Wells has brought the average citizen within sight of our first objective. He has added to his conception of the present, background and perspective. He has given him a sense of historic continuity. He has impressed upon him the slow working of the historic process.

The teacher need not copy Mr. Wells' defects, yet he may borrow the idea that history should not be taught as a series of isolated facts, but in its direct relation to our activities here and now, and that a clear-cut outline of human progress may be a stimulating and suggestive introduction to the consideration of current social problems.

The service of Lord Bryce is quite different. He is a different man and he speaks to a different audience. True, he too has propounded his ideas in two huge volumes. He calls them "*Modern Democracies*," and one scoffer remarked that they seemed quite heavy enough to make the world safe. Heavy they are—and weighted with suggestion for our purpose. In them Lord Bryce has given us a magnificent object lesson in the social uses of history as treated by a master mind. He brings to the work all the scientific accuracy of the trained historian. He brings to it also his unparalleled experience in the ways of human nature as they reveal themselves in practical politics. The reader following him sees on every page what is meant by an open mind and a dispassionate temper in dealing with public questions. This is shown even in the choice of material. For just as the late Professor Moses Coit Tyler of Cornell University, used to refuse to discuss the civil war with students in American History, because, as his own family had been active on the side of the North, he feared he could not do justice to the South, so Lord Bryce,—in discussing modern democracies—refused to include a study of Great Britain, one of the most striking examples of democratic evolution, because he himself had had such an active part in its working that he could not approach the subject without bias.

Most instructive for our purpose is his use of historical material. His subject was *Democracy*. He might have begun by a consideration of democracy in general, using the facts of history by way of illustration. That method had the weight of authority. It was "scientifically irreproachable." But, as he observed, "that method ran the risk of becoming dry, or even dull, because the reader remained in the region of bloodless abstractions." Just the criticism that is brought against our old-fashioned history course, you see! So Lord Bryce chooses instead to study the great democracies, France, Switzerland, Australia, the United States, etc., as a series of experiments in the art of living together under democratic organization. He scrutinizes each one as carefully as if it were a scientific experiment. He notes variations, he seeks out causes

and results. He sees how far the popular will has really found expression. He would learn how and why the popular will has at times been thwarted. He extracts from the history of each country its fullest measure of social suggestion. The reader as he follows it finds his ideas of citizenship enlarged and enriched. He finds his understanding of foreign peoples more complete and sympathetic. By proxy he has gained experience in the use of evidence and practice in appraising a social situation and forming upon it a sound and reasoned judgment. In other words, he has reached our last three objectives under the tutelage of a master mind. Mr. Wells gave us some hints. Lord Bryce has given us a whole textbook on the social uses of history.

What Mr. Wells and Lord Bryce have done for the outside world,—we would do for the schools. It may be objected that it is work which requires the combined genius of a Wells and a Bryce and that that grade of mentality is not commonly found in the school-room. This is unfortunately true, but with such splendid guidance we should be able to do something worth while.

The greatest difficulty just now is to find suitable material. The outline study is not so hard to manage under present conditions, but it is difficult to find suitable material for intensive study. In Ancient History one may sometimes choose a specific period such as the Age of Pericles in Athens and study it much after the fashion of Community Civics. As Lord Bryce has remarked the problems of good government were the same in ancient Athens as now. So were the motives and temptations. As presented in the revised edition of Goodspeed's *History of the Ancient World*² the subject may be discussed under the following topics:

The Condition of Citizenship in Athens.

The Duties and Obligations of Athenian Citizenship.

The Educational Requirements for an Athenian Citizen.

How the Athenian Citizens secured for themselves the Elements of Welfare.

Under the last topic may be discussed physical welfare, including physical education and athletic contests; economic welfare, involving protection of life and property, the regulation of the food supply, coinage, occupations, etc.; intellectual welfare which would bring in schools, literary contests, lectures, discussions and political education by participation in practical politics, and the educational value of the drama; æsthetic welfare, showing the high standard of civic beauty in Athens and the educational value of dramatic and musical contests in which the citizens took part. The ideals of Pericles on the one hand and the weaknesses displayed by the Athenian state on the other, offer fruitful fields for discussion. Any experienced teacher will see numberless ways in which this study can be carried on quite after the fashion of Lord Bryce. Not many topics are treated in this way by textbook writers as yet—but the method seems to offer a promising field for experiment.

Modern European History, according to the dictum of our Social Studies Committee, has special objectives of its own. Its peculiar mission is to promote international good feeling by bringing students to a sympathetic understanding of the characteristic habits and points of view of other nations. To this end it is suggested that it be really a study of nations, and that each nation be studied separately in an attempt to understand its peculiar contribution to the service of modern civilization. Present conditions and characteristics may be studied first—then the story of the historical experiments through which the nation has arrived at its present position. It may be contended that the study of present conditions is sufficient for the purpose without a search into their historical antecedents, but nations like individuals, are too complex to be understood by such superficial methods.

You remember the good old Autocrat of the Breakfast Table once said that in every conversation between two persons, John and Thomas we will say, at least six personalities are involved. John—the real John as he appears to his Maker, John's own ideal John—perhaps quite different from the first, and Thomas' ideal John, quite likely differing from either of the other two. Then there are the three corresponding Thomases. No wonder as the Autocrat said, that there are so many misunderstandings when six persons are talking and listening all at once. But modern biological science goes even farther. It assures us that John is not merely John. He is one half parents, one quarter grandparents, one eighth great grandparents, etc. I may not have the proportions exactly right, but it is obvious, is it not, that a whole genealogical table is required for the most superficial understanding of John,—and that nothing less than a national history will serve for an understanding of the nation he represents.

In American History it is possible to combine the idea of progressive development with the study of social experiment by selecting topics which run through the whole course of our history—such as The Development of Political Democracy, The Development of Industrial Democracy, etc., and working to get out of them the fullest possible measure of suggestion. We have been experimenting along these lines recently in the Somerville High School and at the close of the school year I asked one of the masters who is especially interested in that kind of work, to request his pupils to write answers to the questions. "Do you feel that this topical study of American History has helped in any way to prepare you for citizenship? If so, how?" The answers were very individual, so there was no tuning of the pulpits. Neither master nor pupils had ever heard or seen our statement of objectives, but it is significant that almost everyone of them was touched on by one student or another. With your permission, I will read one or two extracts from those papers.

One said: "This method of teaching American History has illumined the path of citizenship for me. It has enlightened my mind to the future prospects ahead of me. It has developed and broadened my views of matters pertaining to community civics. It

has brought before my eyes the sense of responsibility which rests on the shoulders of every citizen. Not only has this method been instructive, it has been suggestive. While discussing different subjects, the thought has often come into my mind: What should be done to improve conditions in Somerville that appear to be deficient? Since such thoughts have occurred in my mind, which never occurred before, the lesson of citizenship has been developed very thoroughly to me."

Another one says: "Not only have we learned about the good citizens of former days, we have learned what is required of a good citizen and how to become one."

And one more: "Looking back over the year I can candidly and honestly say that to me history has been a great deal more interesting than usual. Formerly it was the cluttering of one's mind with a lot of information, useful no doubt, but at the same time a sketchy range of details collected here and there and besides coupled with a great effort to remember years and administrations and periods. But this method has turned from the drab, the usual and the commonplace and has endeavored to give one a clear range of details . . . [It] develops in us a logical way of observing and studying matters, clear consideration of all their benefits and disadvantages, the reasons why such things are necessary, and if they are not necessary what could be substituted in their respective places. Isn't this a means of good citizenship?"

Clearly these young people are entering on life with a due sense of their obligation to the past and of their responsibility for the future. To them History is no dead thing. It is a living force—a source of suggestion for future action.

One word of warning experience and observation suggest. One who is to teach history as a social study needs to know history. I have noted in certain quarters of late what seemed to me quite exaggerated fears lest the history teacher know too much history in proportion to other subjects. Granted that some knowledge of the allied subjects is required, but sound training in the elements of historical criticism and broad reading in historical literature are absolute essentials. Recitations conducted on the principles outlined above do not go by the book. If the teacher is not well-informed she is soon floundering beyond her depth. She is in constant need of information for illustration, or to show parallels and contrasts. Moreover without firm footing in solid fact the class discussion soon degenerates into a guessing game and the pupils are learning to jump at conclusions. Far better let them spend their time learning the kings of Judah and Israel, or tables of dates or the annals of Charles the Bald, and Charles the Fat, and Charles the Simple. These at least are harmless occupations. But the habit of jumping at conclusions instead of forming reasoned opinions is highly dangerous, exactly contrary to the purpose of our work. If that tendency increase, we shall need a new Socrates to tell our young people that whereas they think they know something, they know nothing.

The prevalence just now of outlines and lesson helps is not altogether reassuring. It is a poor week

that does not bring at least one such outline to my mail. Many of them are excellent in themselves, but it has been suggested that they remind one painfully of the advertisement sheets that come with vacuum cleaners and electric dishwashers, the assumption being in each case that any child can use them. As a matter of fact this is no work for a beginner.

In looking over school catalogues not long ago, I came upon one where the other subjects were all in the hands of graduates of reputable colleges, but in the social studies not a single teacher in senior or junior high school boasted more than a normal school training. If this condition is at all general, it is a most sinister portent for the whole social studies movement.

We who are to teach history need first of all then the help of sound training and adequate experience. We need all the resources of psychology and pedagogy. We need every suggestion that the world's great thinkers can give. We need also some experience in practical politics. Given these, and an open mind, we feel that we may justly claim a part in the great work undertaken by the National Council of Social Studies.

¹ A paper read on July 6, 1922, at the Conference of the National Council for the Social Studies, held in Boston, during the meeting of the National Education Association.

² Jenks, Jeremiah Whipple. "The Social Basis for Education," in *Education for Citizenship*, pp. 60-61.

³ T. H. Goodspeed, *A History of the Ancient World*.—revised by W. S. Ferguson and S. P. R. Chadwick, pp. 150-173.

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PHILADELPHIA

Coordinating the Courses in Social Science in Bucyrus High School by Means of Departmental Meetings

BY EDWARD S. DOWELL, HEAD, DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE,
BUCYRUS (OHIO) HIGH SCHOOL

I. INTRODUCTION: PURPOSE OF THIS PAPER.

The object of this article is to set forth the nature of an experiment in coordinating the work in Social Science that was tried out last year in the Department of Social Science in the Bucyrus High School.

II. ORGANIZATION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE IN BUCYRUS HIGH SCHOOL.

In order that we may get the proper background for an intelligent study of this experiment, it is desirable at the beginning of our discussion to give some consideration to the organization of the Department of Social Science in Bucyrus High School.

The creation of the department three years ago was due to the patent fact that conditions were chaotic and that improvement could be best secured through departmentalization. Both from the standpoint of content and methods of instruction, as well as from the desirability of more detailed supervision, a change was very desirable. The content of the various courses was not well worked out or unified. The courses were not progressive so that each course formed the basis for the one following. Some needlessly repeated material, with a little additional detail, that was covered in an earlier course. In Commerce and Trade, a great deal of data considered in the course in Geography were reconsidered. Some courses were lacking in library equipment, maps, charts, etc., with the result that the learner pursued only the contents of a textbook. The content was not enriched and vitalized by varied, up-to-date and well organized data. The instruction, like the content, was in need of modification. Some good teaching there was, but each instructor followed very largely the method that seemed best to him. There was no departmental policy of instruction. While no two instructors will present a subject in the same way, yet there are some common elements that should be present, in the writer's judgment, in the teaching of all Social Science subjects. This did not exist before departmentalization. These necessary changes in content and technique could be brought about most effectively by that detailed supervision which departmental organization alone could give.

As a result of departmentalization, all the Social Science courses in the Seventh to the Twelfth Grades inclusive were placed under the immediate direction and supervision of the head of the department. Those instructors, eight in number, who gave courses in Social Science, became members of the department and as such came under the supervision of its head. The courses that came within the department's sphere were: Geography, American History (Seventh, Eighth and Twelfth Grades), Civics (Eighth and Twelfth Grades), Commerce and Trade, Modern History, Economics and Sociology.

Thus there was created an organization in which responsibility was definitely fixed for coordinating the work in the Social Sciences.

III. MEANING OF COORDINATION AND HOW SECURED.

We have used the term coordination and it is necessary at this point to define its meaning here. It is used here in a somewhat restricted sense. Coordination here means to so set up the various courses in Social Science that as far as content is concerned they will be progressive and comprehensive and will not needlessly overlap and that so far as method is concerned certain principles shall be applied in the conduct of the recitation, the use of outside reading, etc. In other words, coordination means that each course shall be an integral part of a larger, unified whole and that there shall be a definite departmental policy of instruction.

Coordination can be secured by two means or by a combination of these two. First, by personally visiting classes, the head of the department is in a position to make suggestions to the different instructors that will improve the work and produce the results desired. Second, through departmental meetings, unity of courses and a common policy of presentation can be worked out. A combination of these two methods can be used very advantageously and this is the plan used in the Department of Social Science in Bucyrus High School. Our immediate interest, however, is in the second agency, for the experiment under consideration falls within this field.

IV. MATERIAL USED IN DEPARTMENTAL MEETINGS.

When departmental meetings were inaugurated a little over a year ago, it became necessary to decide what topics should be considered that would help most effectively in coordinating the work of the department. This was no easy task, because, with only one meeting a month, it was hard to determine exactly what could be done that would yield the maximum profit. The eight topics selected for consideration dealt with the subject matter of the different courses in Social Science and also with the technique of presenting it to the learners. These topics, with a series of problems which aimed at the elucidation and development of the various topics, were put on discussion sheets—one sheet for each topic—and every instructor in the department was furnished a copy of each. Below are the discussion sheets that were used:

October Meeting

Topic: The Minimum Essentials in Your Course in Social Science.

It seems very appropriate that we should find out the minimum essentials of the course we are teaching very early in the school year. The various courses in Social Science are so broad that some things must be omitted. There are also some matters that need

especial emphasis. In working out the minimum essentials of the course we are teaching, we must determine first of all what we will teach and what we will omit and, second, what matters shall be especially stressed. It will require the most careful and painstaking effort to do this well.

Problems

1. What do you understand as the minimum essentials of a course?
2. What importance do you attach to knowing the minimum essentials of the course you are teaching?
3. How do you determine what the minimum essentials of a course should be?
4. Work out the minimum essentials of the course in Social Science that you teach. What difficulties, if any, did you experience in doing this?
5. Having worked out the minimum essentials for your course, what are you going to do with the exceptionally bright or dull child?

November Meeting

Topic: The use and the abuse of the textbook.

One of the weaknesses in present-day teaching rests in the fact that too many teachers do not know how to use a textbook intelligently. Too often, the text is considered an end in itself rather than a means to an end. The object of the questions given below is to analyze the "problem of the textbook" and reach some fundamentals as to how it can be used purposefully.

Problems

1. What is a textbook? What tests would you apply to a book in determining whether it would make a good text for your classes? Be concrete.
2. Assuming that you have selected a good textbook, how would you use it in your course to get the maximum results?
3. In your judgment, should a text be followed closely? Why or why not? Should your problems be based entirely upon the text? Why or why not?
4. If you use a text, how much outside reading would you require? Is it advisable to base problems upon outside reading or the text or both? Should the outside reading be assigned by pages or based upon problems which require outside reading for solution?
5. Some instructors prefer not to use a text. Is this ever advisable? If so, under what conditions?
6. Catalogue as many ways as you can think of in which a text is abused and can be abused.
7. From your consideration of the preceding six problems, what conclusions would you draw as to the right way in which to use a text?

December Meeting

Topics: The Notebook and the Problem Sheet.

Probably no tool that is used today by teachers of Social Science is so poorly used as the notebook. The typical notebook is an unscientific collection of data. For this reason, many instructors consider the notebook a joke. Yet, if rightly used, the notebook can be made a splendid vehicle for improving instruction and it is worth our while to consider how a notebook can be thus utilized.

The problem sheet is of such vital importance in the Socialized recitation that its value is almost self-evident. Unless the problem sheet is carefully prepared with due regard to certain principles it becomes a handicap rather than a help to the student. The proper construction of the problem sheet should be of great interest to us all.

Problems: The Notebook

1. Is a notebook of any value in a course in Social Science? Why or why not?
2. How should a notebook be used to get the maximum results?
3. What difficulties are likely to arise in connection with the use of the notebook? How would you handle them?
4. Do you give your students any instructions in the use of the notebook? If so, what are they? What instructions do you give in note taking? What is the nature of this instruction?

Problems: The Problem Sheet

1. What mechanical characteristics should a problem sheet possess?
2. How can the problem sheet be used most effectively?
3. What will determine the nature of the problems you will put on the problem sheet?
4. What is the difference between a problem and a question? Which is the better? Why? What type of problems should be given?
5. What dangers must be guarded against in preparing a problem sheet?

January Meeting

Topics: The Use of Tests, Special Reports and Semester Papers.

Every instructor in Social Science makes use of the test. In too many instances, the test is used because of habit and custom. Few instructors know why a test is used or how to use it right.

Special reports are exceedingly valuable in courses in Social Science, but unfortunately are not used enough. The special report, if wisely used, will lend variety to a discussion and will serve as a splendid vehicle for student self expression.

Instructors in Social Science, with few exceptions, do not fully appreciate the great value of semester papers in their courses. For training in the collection and evaluation of data, organization of material and expression of ideas in clear, forceful English, the semester paper has no superior.

A careful study of the problems given below should help in finding out how tests, special reports and semester papers can be used purposefully in courses in Social Science.

Problems: The Test

1. What is the value of a test in a course in Social Science?
2. How often should a test be given? How much ground should it cover? How much time should be given to a test?

3. What should be the nature of the questions asked in a test?

4. What dangers must be guarded against in giving a test?

Problems: The Special Report

1. What is the value of a special report in a course in Social Science?

2. What kind of topics should be assigned as special reports?

3. When a topic is assigned to a student as a special report, what instructions should be given by the instructor?

4. What form should be used by the student in giving a special report?

5. Why are special reports, as a rule, so unsatisfactory?

6. What dangers must be guarded against in handling special reports?

Problems: The Semester Paper

1. What is the value of a paper in a course in Social Science?

2. How many papers should be required during a semester?

3. What kind of topics should be assigned for papers?

4. What instructions should be given the student in regard to preparing and writing papers?

5. How should the paper be written—paper to be used, form, marginal references, etc.?

6. What supervision should the instructor exercise in the preparation of papers?

February Meeting

Topics: The Use of Local Data and Class Trips in Courses in Social Science.

Effective teaching is impossible without interest and one of the best ways to create this is by the use of local data. To do this well requires considerable work and versatility on the part of the instructor, but it yields proportionate returns. The use of local data also lends variety to a course and gives the work a practical trend.

No course in Social Science (except, possibly, History) can be regarded as satisfactory unless it provides for class trips. The educational value of such trips can hardly be overestimated. To be successful, these trips must be well planned by the instructor. Students should be carefully instructed as to what to look for on the trips and written reports from each student should be required.

Problems: The Use of Local Data

1. What local data can you use in your course in Social Science?

2. How would you obtain this data?

3. How would you use it in your course?

4. In collecting local data, what difficulties must be overcome?

5. Can you see any objections to the use of local data? Any advantages?

Problems: The Use of Class Trips

1. In making a class trip what would be your objective?

2. How many class trips should be made in connection with your course in Social Science? What would determine the number of trips?

3. What instructions should be given a class before making a trip?

4. Where would you make your trips? Why? When?

5. Assuming that you believe students should make a report of their trip, what kind of a report sheet would you have them fill out? Make out such a sheet and bring it to the meeting.

6. Are you planning to make any trips in your course this semester? If so, how many? If not, why not?

March Meeting

Topics: Growing in your Subject and Keeping in Touch with Present-Day Developments in your Field.

The progressive teacher in the Social Sciences must grow in his work. His knowledge of the subject matter of the courses he is teaching must expand if he is to create in his students vital interest in the subject. The teacher, who does not grow soon becomes a worthless appendage to a department. In the various branches of the Social Sciences, the literature is so voluminous and of such varying worth that all of it cannot be read and studied. Scholarly contributions must be sorted out and carefully considered. This can be done best by working out a comprehensive plan of individual reading and study and holding persistently to it. In such a policy lies growth.

Moreover, the teacher must keep in touch with current contributions in his field and with experiments in the technique of teaching the subject. To do this effectively involves careful planning and steady adherence to the plan. While much time will be required to do this, the returns yielded will be amply worth while.

Problems

1. How would you determine what books are standard in the course you are giving?

2. Just how would you decide what recent books in the course you are giving should be studied carefully?

3. What use would you make of periodical literature in getting a better knowledge of the field in which you are working?

4. Work out and bring to the meeting a program for reading and study in connection with the course you are giving.

5. What means are at your disposal for keeping in touch with present-day development in your field?

6. What is the standard journal in the field of Social Science you are teaching? Do you consult it? For what purpose?

7. What source do you consult to find out new methods of presenting the subject you teach?

8. How do you determine the value of these new methods to you?

9. In your opinion, should the progressive teacher experiment in technique? To what extent?

10. Work out a plan showing just how you keep up to date in the field in which you are working. Be concrete.

April Meeting

Topic: Creating Interest in the Work.

No teacher can attain the maximum of efficiency unless interest in the work is developed. Without interest, each recitation will be a dreary and meaningless grind. Interest is the axis upon which successful teaching turns, for no matter how splendid the technique or how well informed the instructor may be, if the students cannot see the purposefulness of what they are doing, satisfactory results cannot be secured. We shall seek, therefore, to find out what interest is and how it can be created in courses in the Social Sciences.

Problems

1. What do you understand by the term interest? Give two examples to show what interest is.

2. Why is interest in a course so vital to successful work?

3. In your opinion is it difficult to create interest in courses in the Social Sciences? Explain carefully.

4. What devices can be used to stimulate interest in your course? List, explain each and show how each can be used.

5. How do you create interest in your work?

6. What difficulties must be guarded against in seeking to create interest?

7. Relate the socialized recitation and the lengthened period to the problem of interest.

8. In creating interest, do you regard the recitation period or the study period as the best time for doing this? Explain.

May Meeting

Topic: Collecting and Evaluating Books, Periodicals and Special Bulletins for Use in your Course in Social Science.

The teacher of courses in the Social Sciences should take an especial interest in building up a good reference library in the course he is giving. Work in the Social Sciences without a reference library is almost valueless. It is no more satisfactory than is work in Chemistry or Physics without a laboratory. With limited funds at his disposal the Social Science instructor must select wisely the books and periodicals that are to be purchased for the library. Many volumes of worthwhile material can be secured gratis if the instructor knows where to go for them. By means of the following problems we shall seek to find out how to build up a good reference library.

Problems

1. In purchasing books for your library, how would you determine the kind of books that should be secured? The number of books to be obtained?

2. A book is published in your field. You do not know if it will be of any value to you. You do not care to purchase it unless you know that it will be

of worth to you. How can you find out if this book would be worth purchasing for your reference library?

3. How can coöperation with the city library be secured so that the city library will supplement rather than duplicate the volumes in your reference library?

4. In selecting periodicals for your library, what would determine the kind and number selected? In selecting newspapers?

5. How would you go about it to obtain gratis material for your library? What gratis material would you secure? For what purpose would you use it?

6. Do you keep track of government publications? How? Do you obtain any for use in your classes? What ones? How? How are they used?

7. How can you keep in touch with what worthwhile books are being published from time to time in your field?

8. In building up a reference library, should the learners be asked to pay a fee into a fund for the purchase of books?

V. WAY MATERIAL WAS USED IN DEPARTMENTAL MEETINGS.

The departmental meetings were held the second Tuesday in each month, beginning with October. About three weeks prior to each meeting, the instructors were given a discussion sheet. This allowed sufficient time for considering thoroughly before the regular meeting the problems on each sheet. To discuss these intelligently involved considerable reading in some of the standard works on the teaching of History, Civics, Geography, etc. Some found it desirable to consult recent bulletins and pamphlets and periodical literature in the field. More important still, these problems compelled some thought on the part of the instructors and the ability to analyze and synthesize their own class room experiences. It was suggested that after these problems had been considered carefully that several instructors "get together" at least once before the scheduled meeting and talk over the propositions raised on the discussion sheet. This give and take in group discussion would serve to clarify the views of each participant. Further, it was suggested that some time each day be given to a consideration of these problems to the end that the discussions in the departmental meetings be made interesting, intelligent and purposeful.

The regular meetings were fifty minutes in duration and were given over to an informal discussion of the problems that were scheduled for that meeting. The guidance of the discussion was in the hands of the head of the department. The problems were discussed in the order of their appearance on the discussion sheet. All contributions were voluntary but it was expected that every instructor would contribute something worth while on each problem. Frequently, questions were asked, diverse views presented, new issues raised, etc., all of which helped to sift the essentials from the non-essentials and get at the fundamentals of the matter under consideration. The object throughout the discussion was to establish a principle or method of procedure that seemed sound in the light of modern, progressive, educational prac-

tice and upon which all were agreed. There was little difficulty from the time the discussion began until the last problem was disposed of in getting voluntary contributions. It was more difficult to keep the discussion directed on the issue at hand and give each problem the consideration it deserved. It was expected that the conclusions reached at each meeting would be scrupulously put into practice by each instructor. Each could feel that the results "arrived at" were the product of all the minds of the department. Because "common counsel" was taken, no rules or orders were imposed from above and each instructor could feel that it was his ideas that he was putting into effect.

VI. THE MID-YEAR SURVEY AND THE DEPARTMENTAL QUESTIONNAIRE.

Supplementary to the departmental meetings and serving somewhat as a test to determine whether the instructors were working into their courses the results of the departmental meetings were the mid-year survey and the departmental questionnaire.

The last twenty-five minutes of the February meeting were taken up with a survey of the work in the department during the first semester. The data for this survey were collected by means of personal inspection of class instruction and was catalogued under two major heads—the strong points in the instruction in the department and the defects in the instruction in the department. Under each head particulars with appropriate comments were given and each instructor was presented with a mimeographed copy. In the light of these facts, it was suggested that each instructor make a personal, critical invoice of his work and remedy the defects existing in his teaching.

About a month before the close of the school year, each instructor was given a questionnaire to be filled out and returned to the head of the department. Its object was to give the instructors another chance at self inspection of their work, to enable them to check up on the instruction they were giving and to furnish the head of the department with information that was needed to improve the Social Science courses the next year. At the February meeting, the instructors were informed in a general way what the questionnaire would call for and this fact stimulated them to put into practice the principles agreed upon at the regular departmental meetings and to remedy existing defects in order that they might be able to give satisfactory answers to the questions propounded in the questionnaire. Below is given the questionnaire that was submitted:

QUESTIONNAIRE

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE

The object of the questions given below is to obtain information for the purpose of improving the work of the department. It is assumed that every instructor in the department will be glad to give the data asked for. Please give these questions your careful consideration and return them to the head of the department by May 1, 1922.

Date, 1922.

Name

Courses Taught

I. Personal.

1. How many years have you taught courses in Social Science?
2. How many years have you taught courses in Social Science, using the socialized recitation?
3. Did you major in the Social Studies in college?
4. Do you do any reading or study to grow in the course or courses in Social Science that you are teaching?
5. Do you do any reading or study to keep in touch with new developments in your field?

II. Equipment.

1. Do you have a reference library for the use of the learners in your course? If so, how many volumes in the library?
2. How many wall maps do you have for the use of your students? How many charts? How many graphs? How many models? Other illustrative material?
3. How many volumes or pamphlets of gratis material do you have?
4. Do you have any current magazines or newspapers for use in your course or courses? If so, what are they and how many?

III. Technique and Method of Presenting Subject.

1. How much time do you allow for discussion? For investigation?
2. Do you use a text or an outline as a guide?
3. What per cent in your class contributes to the discussion?
4. During the discussion, how much time do you take for questions and explanations? When is this done, during the discussion or at the close of the discussion?
5. How much reading outside the regular investigation period do you require of each learner per week?
6. Do you require your students to use the city library? If so, how is the library used?
7. Do you require your students to study at home? If so, what method is used to get this done?
8. What do you do during the investigating period?
9. How many papers do you require of each student per semester?
10. How many reports do you require of each student per semester?
11. What method do you use in giving tests? Monthly tests or short tests each week?
12. How much map work do you require of each student per semester?
13. To what extent do you use class trips in your course?
14. How do you create interest in your course?
15. Do you believe in experimenting in your teaching? If so, what experiments have you tried this year?

IV. Recommendations.

1. What additional equipment do you need to improve your work?

2. What changes would you suggest for improving the content of the course or courses you are giving?

3. What changes would you suggest for improving the method of presenting the content of the course or courses you are teaching?

4. Any other recommendations?

In answering the above questions be specific, not general. Only specific answers will be of any service in improving the work of the department.

VII. RESULTS ACHIEVED THROUGH DEPARTMENTAL MEETINGS.

The results of our experience last year with departmental meetings were more than the most sanguine in the department expected. Begun as an experiment, they have now become a definite part of the work of the department. Several of the most important results may be briefly noted.

The meetings, first of all, led to considerable professional reading and thinking. The instructors became interested not only in getting a better hold on the subject matter of the courses they were giving, but they desired as well to become more proficient with the mechanics of teaching. This reading and thinking clarified and crystalized their views and the professional spirit—needed today as never before in teaching—was greatly improved.

There also grew out of these meetings a stronger coöperation than had existed before in the department. The fact that all the instructors had a share in molding departmental policy through discussion and "common counsel" had much to do with developing this feeling. Every one desired to make the department one hundred per cent efficient and it was evident that this was possible only by team work. The departmental meetings fostered this "team work spirit."

As a result of professional reading and thinking and the good team work that was developed, a departmental policy of instruction was evolved. This policy was to be followed in all the classes in Social Science. It is not necessary to go into the details of this policy here, for in the not far distant future, the writer hopes to have published in *THE HISTORICAL OUTLOOK* an article, covering somewhat in detail, the departmental policy that was established. It is sufficient to add that definite principles were agreed upon in regard to the following:

1. Use of notebooks.
2. Use of textbooks.
3. Use of outside reading.
4. Use of problem sheet.
5. Use of tests, special reports and term papers.
6. Use of local data and special trips.
7. Use of the discussion and investigation parts of the lengthened period.
8. Creating interest in the work.
9. Professional growth.

The establishment of a departmental policy of instruction has been a powerful coordinating influence and has been of immeasurable benefit in increasing the effectiveness of the work of the department. The

departmental meetings were begun for the prime purpose of aiding in the coordination of the Social Science work. Toward this accomplishment, they have made a large and valuable contribution.

VIII. CONCLUSION.

Successful departmental meetings are conditions by three factors: (1) A group of instructors, professionally inclined, (2) a program for departmental meetings that is definite, well-planned and practical, and (3) intelligent and constructive leadership. With these things present, departmental meetings can be made constructively worth while both to the department as such and to the instructors individually. Without these things, it is hard to conceive of these meetings rendering any service commensurate with the time spent upon them.

In the foregoing, no attempt has been made to be exhaustive. There are many items that might be elaborated upon at length but this would draw the article out to unreasonable proportions. The writer has sought to be suggestive. By pointing out in a general way his experience with departmental meetings, it is hoped that there might be suggested to others, who, like he, are wrestling with the problem of making such meetings effective coordinating agencies, ways and means of using them with considerable profit. Local conditions and problems will determine very largely the subject matter for such meetings, but the principles underlying the handling of the subject matter should be practically the same if good results are to accrue from the meetings.

This article is offered as a small but possibly suggestive contribution to a phase of Social Science teaching that has been almost neglected and ignored by instructors and yet which offers great possibilities for improving the presentation of the Social Science studies to our high school boys and girls.

Notes on Periodical Literature

BY GERTRUDE BRAMLETTE RICHARDS, PH. D.

"The working class has voted in Great Britain for only a little over fifty years. Public education, established by law at almost the same time, has been a fact for a much shorter interval. Before the Great War, of all the British children, five per cent entered the secondary schools and one per cent the universities. This painful condition was not the result of indifference to education among members of the working class themselves but to apprehension on the part of others. . . . The remedy for neglected education is more education, a goal which Labor has set itself and will undoubtedly make," says M. T. Hodgen in writing on "The Fitness of British Labor to Vote" in the *January Forum*.

"It is not correct to suppose that the condition of the modern world is so different from the past that research is wasted. . . . Diplomacy is the art of dealing with men and men have not changed much

since the dawn of history," is the introduction to Lieut.-Col. C. à Ceourt Repington's first installment of a series of articles on "The Old Diplomacy" which open this month's *Nineteenth Century*. Beginning with the Elizabethan period, he devotes this first paper to a study of the character of Queen Elizabeth, of Lord Burghley and of internal reforms.

"The evolution of Indian social and political institutions was marked by an originality which is so remarkable in the domain of philosophy and thought. . . . The aim of political organization was to maintain the social order, to grant protection to life and property and to enable the individual to have his proper way in his self-realization as far as the worldly aspect of life was concerned. Thus in one direction the sphere of state action was limited. It embraced only that part of the life of the community which concerned itself with material existence and progress, while over the rest it had hardly any control." The expansion of this thesis forms the article on "Governmental Ideals in Ancient India," by Narayanchandra Banerji, M. A., Lecturer in Calcutta University, which appears in the *Calcutta Review* for December, 1922.

January *Blackwood's* publishes a most interesting and chatty article ("The Change in China," by G. E. H.) which is an account of the typical changes wrought by democracy in Peking in the last ten years.

An unsigned article in *La Civiltà Cattolica* for November 4, 1922, speaks of "Syndicalism as not an organ of peace but the harness of war—not a bridge that unites but a torrent that divides," and says further that "syndicates and professional associations have not met with sympathy from the people as a whole in Italy."

"The mass of people have passed from criticism and distrust of pre-war and war leaders to suspicion and increasing condemnation of the politico-economic system those persons conducted. . . . In the stress and anxiety of daily life, the mass of the people are increasingly indifferent to the claims and appeals of politicians of established position. . . . The horror begotten by the late war and the distrust its directors have inflamed is aggravated by a growing consciousness that nothing effective has yet been done to prevent a recurrence of the tragedy. . . . The silent revolution proceeding in the mind of the people betrays itself at its sharpest point in the growing suspicion of the present economic system, its practices and its ethics," says Holford Knight in his forecast of "The Coming Political Revolution."—(January *Fortnightly*.)

A rather unusual aspect of affairs in modern Germany is presented by Charles Merz in his article on "The Youth Movement in Germany" (February *Century*). These "Jugendbunds" are both local and national and number over five hundred organizations. Because of them "Youth has a new prestige in Germany. The constitution of the republic recognizes that as frankly as the leaders of the country is politics. . . . There must be more schools, assur-

ance for those who are without means enough to obtain a secondary education. 'The rule for guidance is the multiplicity of life's callings; and the acceptance of a child in a particular school shall depend upon his qualifications and not upon the economic and social position or the religion of his parents.' Youth gains in prestige . . . It may be a happy thing for Germany. It may help rebuild what war destroyed. For Germany has her own 'devastated regions' no less real because the devastation is the smash of a political and social code that has outlived its day."

The article on "Selby Abbey and the Washingtons" by Clifford Albion Tinker in the February *Scribner's* has most interesting illustrations and gives very delightful traditions of the Abbey as well as of the Washingtons.

"If we are asked how this present tariff got into the statutes, the answer is that it was the result of politics . . . and . . . it must be admitted that Prohibition has proved to be bad politics. . . . In one serious aspect, the exaggerations of the Tariff Act have proved offensive to the nation's moral sense and dangerous to our financial position. The repayment to us of the debts . . . of the Allies

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. . . is one of the most difficult moral and financial problems of the day. . . . Then, at this critical juncture what can Congress mean by introducing preposterous and even prohibitive import duties whose direct purpose must be the restriction of imports? . . . In the game of politics by which this curious Tariff of Exaggeration has been enacted, it is passing strange that we owe most of the ruthless protection to the Farm Bloc . . . one wonders if the Farm Bloc has not been carefully duped by the Eastern groups. . . . The rates of this act are too high to last. Moreover, they are economically unsound and cannot stand against discussion. They contain in themselves the yeast of fermentation which will bring dissolution," says Mr. J. Laurence Laughlin in his careful analysis of "The Tariff of Exaggeration," in the February *North American*.

Book Reviews

EDITED BY PROF. J. M. GAMBRILL, TEACHERS COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

Woodrow Wilson and World Settlement. By Ray Stannard Baker. Doubleday, Page & Company, Garden City, N. Y., 1922. 3 vols. xxxv, 432; xii, 561; xv, 508 pp. \$20.

Instead of writing his own justification for the course he followed at Paris, President Wilson has allowed Ray Stannard Baker to do it for him. Mr. Baker has had access to private files and the contents of the "large steel document box with a spring lock" which Mr. Wilson kept at Paris and in which were placed minutes, reports, and memoranda of all kinds. Further than this the work is published with an acknowledgment to Mr. Wilson, not only for his "readiness in many instances to interpret documents where the verbal significance was not clear, but for his steady confidence and his willingness to have the entire truth, so far as the writer could get at it, told at every point." What Mr. Baker has written, however, is far from a blind or partisan justification of Mr. Wilson's policies and strategy. Criticisms—some of them frequent—are serious. But the important part of the *apologia* is not Mr. Baker's criticism or defense, but the documentation. That keeps the account from being *ex parte*, for here we have opposing views set forth, not by advocates but by the principals themselves. These materials of history are primary, and Mr. Baker's interpretation is secondary. His manner of presenting the evidence does not suggest in any case that he is selecting for his purpose. He seems to be fair, although, of course, the historian will wait anxiously for the day when all of the secret minutes are published—dreary, unimportant details as well as tense arguments over crucial issues.

Mr. Baker begins his volumes with an adequate account of the background of the Peace Conference, the origin, scope, and importance of the secret treaties, and the struggle between the "old" and the "new" diplomacy. Mr. Lansing seems more to blame than President Wilson for the Administration's failure to be prepared in respect of the secret treaties, but if

these had been put to one side Europe would have made the same demands and would have insisted on them just as strongly. The treaties were a symptom rather than the disease itself. After this introduction Mr. Baker deals with the concrete problems that confronted the Conference and tells his story in large measure by quoting from Mr. Wilson's unpublished materials. The League of Nations, the limitation of armaments, the French demands for territory and "security," the Italian and Japanese crises, and the economic settlement and reparations are the matters to which most space is devoted. There is no discussion of Russia and Bolshevism, Labor, or racial and religious minorities. Mr. Baker has reserved these problems for possible treatment later. Volume III contains sixty-nine important documents, all of them most illuminating.

A work of this scope, of course, is packed with controversial material and raises innumerable debatable points, which cannot even be touched upon here. It may be said, briefly, that Mr. Wilson, as he appears

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in Mr. Baker's pages, was a figure that the country could well be proud of, whatever his specific successes or failures. The quotations from the secret minutes afford no confirmation of the facile bamboozlement that Keynes' imagination conjured up. On the basis of the arguments in the Council of Four, Mr. Wilson was the *intellectual* master of any man at the Conference. It was otherwise *politically*. Mr. Lloyd George had debauched his electorate in order to win an election and he lived in constant fear. Mr. Wilson ignored his electorate and could not count on its support in crucial matters. The European statesmen were intense political realists who knew what they wanted and intended to get it. They did lip service to Wilsonian principles, but were all out for booty in one form or another. Mr. Wilson's failure, it appears clearly from Mr. Baker's documents, was due not to any unpreparedness or incapacity, but to the overwhelming forces arrayed against him. The disinterestedness of the United States—which was illusory when matters like the Monroe Doctrine, Japanese immigration, racial equality, etc.—were on the tapis, was as much of a handicap as an asset. Our only chance for better things was to bargain rather than argue on principle for concessions by France, England, and Italy. Something might perhaps have been done in respect of the debt, but Mr. Wilson had not prepared public opinion and underestimated the importance of economic factors. He was handicapped by inadequate publicity—Mr. Baker thinks this was the greatest failure at Paris—and was poorly supported by the other American commissioners, with the exception of General Bliss. But it seems clear from the Baker volumes that the peace was a better one than it would have been had Wilson stayed in the United States and that no American representative could have achieved more. It seems clear, also, that Wilson's greatest gamble was a legitimate one—that a League of Nations could revise a vicious treaty and that compromise with his principles was better than a breakup of the Conference.

The skein of pre-war diplomacy has not yet been untangled. It will be long before the diplomacy of the Paris Conference is fully disclosed. Mr. Baker's volumes are the most notable contribution to truth that has been made or is likely to be made for some time. To say that they are indispensable to the historian, student, or general reader who wishes to have an intelligent opinion on what happened at Paris is to say less than the importance of the material justifies. They are indispensable, moreover, for an estimate of the man who played the leading role in that drama. Mr. Baker's work throws a strong light on Woodrow Wilson's many faceted genius.

LINDSAY ROGERS.

Columbia University.

The History of California: The Spanish Period. By Charles E. Chapman. The Macmillan Company, New York, 1922. 527 pp. \$4.00.

As a graduate student the author spent two years in Spain on a local California fellowship. He has since made wide use of the materials there gathered

in class room and in occasional publication, in the preparation of an extensive bibliography of documents, and in a valuable monograph on *The Founding of Spanish California*. He gathers up the results of his labors in the present offering, which with its companion volume on the American period is designed as a popular history of the state. The work, therefore, stands for a decade of personal effort, of effective coöperation in academic circles, and of generous and intelligent public appreciation.

The book is no mere sectional treatise. Professor Chapman localizes California, but at the same time links its early annals with nearly every other part of the known world. From its pages we note that the region, in prehistoric times, had some sort of cultural relationship with eastern Asia. In the sixth century (although he possibly stresses this point too much) the Chinese may have sought an eastward track across the Pacific, whither, ten centuries later, the Japanese might have followed them, had the Spaniards encouraged such advances towards California. He traces clearly the land and sea routes of northward trend by which, for three centuries, Spain and Mexico strove to establish connection with shadowy lands. He tells of the Russian peril of the eighteenth century, the approach of the English, and the more ominous "Yankee" expansion. This portion of the book—about two-fifths—may be termed the introduction to California. Each topic is well organized and presented in scholarly detail, without neglecting those alluring traditions that fired the early explorers. The author, however, never permits us wholly to forget that he is primarily a research specialist.

He devotes another two fifths of his book to the actual settlement of California, and therewith gives us a very good idea of the workings of the Spanish colonial system, its basic elements, its shortcomings, its manifold agencies, and its substantial results. This is no mean task and in working it out he has the advantage of important monographs in the same field, notably that of his colleague, Priestley. The last hundred pages tell the story of the Spanish and Mexican province up to the period of American occupation.

One naturally compares the volume with that of Richman, covering the same field, and will probably sum up one's conclusions in the phrase—"More scholarly, but less interestingly written." But Chapman's pages do not lack color. Cortés, ringed about with friend and foe, appears in the less known guise of explorer, beside whom Rodriguez Cabrillo and Vizcaino take their rightful place. Garcés and Anza, Serra and Lasuén have their parts explained with admirable precision. Gálvez is given his full due as well as the viceroys Bucareli and Revilla Gigedo. At the same time Drake and Cavendish, Dampier, Anson, and Cook receive due credit for some regularity of career and significance of result. This wealth of personal and administrative detail, now rendered available in English, will be useful in filling up our background of Hispanic-American history.

ISAAC JOSLIN COX.

Northwestern University.

Stein and the Era of Reform in Prussia, 1807-1815.

By Guy Stanton Ford. Princeton University Press, 1922. vii., 336 pp. \$3.00.

The art of biographical writing has, in recent years, taken a peculiarly subjective turn. The outward and more or less objective elements like the early life, training and achievements of the individual are of minor importance. What really counts is that the biographer with satanic malevolence bores his way into the innermost recesses of his victim's mind, turns it inside out and reveals the hidden motives of his actions. It is impossible, of course, but some very clever and interesting, even though unreliable, biographies have been the result.

The one before us is not of this kind. While there is a good deal of keen character analysis, the work belongs rather to that solid and commendable variety of biography which seeks to place the man in his true perspective with regard to his age. For this task Professor Ford was eminently fitted. His work shows an intimate knowledge of the history of the era and of its historical sources. Lehmann's "great biography" which supersedes Seeley and Pertz, as well as the controversial literature it called forth, the author has well in hand. Indeed, his conscientious effort in trying to enlighten the reader as to the historic movements in which Stein participated often retards the narrative and lessens the interest. His own sense of this danger is clearly expressed in his comment that the "biographer is forever facing the necessity of following with explaining pen the development of problems of national and international politics" (p. 273).

The work is timely in these days when Germany is again in humiliation and defeat even though for very different reasons. It is a suggestive commentary on the situation of today that a little over a hundred years ago Germany was in French hands. Napoleon ordered the arrest and execution of Stein, and when his victim escaped he put a price on his head. But he "failed as he and his kind always will fail when they seek to destroy the influence of personalities that embody a moral force or represent consciously or unconsciously some great principle."

The idea, above all others, for which Stein stood, according to Dr. Ford, was German nationality. It is true that his constructive work centered rather about the great economic and administrative reforms of Prussia. But from the beginning, when he threw in his lot with Frederick the Great because that monarch stood for Germany as a whole rather than the interests of the separate states, it was the national cause that determined his conduct. So it was in the days of his exile, at Alexander's Court, and so it was in the disheartening days of the Vienna Congress when he saw his dreams of a strong German nation shattered; a "Lost Cause."

The volume represents a successful and praiseworthy effort at historical biography in the European field by an American scholar. There are frequent passages where the style is of the best, but the subject does not lend itself to inspired writing throughout.

An index and a brief bibliography would have added to the value of the volume.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

University of Pennsylvania.

Buried Cities. By Jennie Hall. Macmillan, New York, 1922. 199 pp. \$2.00.

Though this is a child's book, and intended not for study but for entertainment, yet its originality, its timeliness and its good workmanship demand for *Buried Cities* special attention. Before we can teach historical lessons to children we must first interest them in the past; before we can give a realization of the universal kinship of all peoples, we must make these peoples real. These things Miss Hall has done with the art of an experienced teller of stories, and the sure touch of a thorough-going student of history. With her magic wand she has transformed the dry bones of long buried cities into breathing, pulsating life.

Pompeii, Olympia and Mycenae are the cities chosen for visitation. The first scene is drawn in Pompeii on the day of the final disaster, and the actors are a little boy and a Greek slave, his rescuer. The story is a bit of charming and sympathetic imagination, yet in reality it amounts to much more than that, for every detail in the picture is historically sound. Pompeii lives again. In the description of Vesuvius that follows the author evinces an acquaintance with the writings of the various historic visitors to that fascinating region. Predigested paraphrases of passages from Phillip's *Vesuvius* are printed in quotation marks, a questionable practice even in a book for juvenile readers. With the third chapter, "Pompeii Today," however, no fault can be found; it is well told, vivid, and accurate, perhaps the best part of the entire book.

The second theme is Olympia and its games. Here the writer appears to misconceive somewhat the religious attitude of the Greeks. There is, for instance, no reason to believe that the little boy of the story would be moved to offer up "a whispered prayer for his brother." Miss Hall seems here unconsciously to create a medieval air of devoutness, foreign to the care-free Greek. Last of all comes Mycenae. This would indeed appear unpromising material for a children's book, but its treatment is at once so simple and original that excavation is made to children but the "uncovering of a gold-wrapped king," for the delight of young bystanders, and the work of Schliemann becomes as romantic as the adventures of Captain Kidd.

So much for the subject-matter; but perhaps the real importance of the work lies more in its collections of well chosen pictures, drawings and photographs, in many cases taken from original sources and uniquely arranged, grouped at the end of each section. The accompanying legends (prepared after Miss Hall's untimely death by a friend who had traveled and worked with her) are of unusual interest, merit and accuracy. In several instances, however, the inferences drawn are misleading and there are some actual errors. These trifling flaws, however, do not

lessen the value of the book, good not only in content but in its physical make-up,—with its excellently chosen paper and binding, its skilful typography and its well-executed illustrations. Altogether, from Foreword to last page here is a volume to entice and to hold children, and mayhap even to bring in subtle fashion to their souls a broader, more sympathetic understanding of past peoples.

LENA C. VAN BIBBER.

Maryland State Normal School, Towson.

New Era in Civics. By John B. Howe. Iroquois Publishing Company, Syracuse, N. Y., 1922 420 pp.

This book follows a middle course between the older high school texts which dealt almost exclusively with the legal structure of government, and the newer ones which seemed to be based on the theory that a knowledge of the methods of ash and garbage disposal is all that is needed to make of our boys and girls informed and public-spirited citizens. The author is not afraid to mention the Constitution of the United States. He treats it neither as something too sacred to change nor as an outworn instrument preventing necessary growth. The important fact that popular government requires an enlightened and interested public opinion is continually kept in view but without obtrusive didacticism. The book is reasonably interesting.

Dr. Howe has divided his book into five parts dealing with: citizenship, the national government, the government of the states, local government and political parties. In the part on the national government are found a four-page description of the new budget system established in 1921, and an excellent chapter on the currency including a simple explanation of the purpose and working of the federal reserve system. The recent constitutional amendments receive adequate treatment. To this part and to that on political parties, which also deals mainly with national affairs, the author gives more than one half of the entire volume. The other sections necessarily suffer somewhat because of brevity.

More than half of these scant fifty pages allotted to state government deal with the direct primary and with voting procedure and qualifications. The fact is that this part of the book is so compressed that it often approaches a series of definitions, not always satisfactory. For example, the problem of direct legislation by means of the initiative is dismissed with the statement that,

The initiative consists of a movement by a certain number of voters, who sign their names to petitions, to submit to the state legislature certain questions for action. In these cases the petitioners ask that a law or several laws named by them shall be passed by the legislature. The number of petitioners required varies, but it is never more than a comparatively small fraction of the entire vote.

Of course, this is only a partial and entirely misleading, if not meaningless, definition of the "indirect" initiative; it omits all reference to the more generally used "direct" initiative. Moreover, the teacher will be disappointed to find, in the chapter entitled, "State Reforms and Problems," no reference to the movement for the reorganization and consolidation of state administrative agencies which is probably the most

significant recent reform in the direction of increased efficiency in state government.

The part dealing with the government of the local community is satisfactory as far as city government is concerned, but it almost wholly neglects rural government, only two pages being devoted to the government of the county. This must be considered a rather serious defect. However, its good points certainly outweigh its shortcomings.

ELMER D. GRAPER.

Columbia University.

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- Biggs, William. Narrative of the captivity of [Author] among the Kickapoo Indians in Illinois in 1788. Metuchen, N. J.: C. F. Heartman. 36 pp.
- Ford, Worthington C. Broad-sides, ballads, etc., printed in Massachusetts, 1639-1800. Boston, Mass., Historical Society. 483 pp.
- Iowa State Hist. Society. The Iowa journal of history and politics [Vol. 20, No. 4]. Iowa City, Ia.: [The Author].
- Morton, Oren F. Rockbridge County, Virginia: a history from the earliest times to 1920. Staunton, Va.: The McClure Co., Inc. [about] 600 pp. \$6.00.
- Pierson, David L. History of the Oranges to 1921. N. Y.: Lewis Hist. Pub. Co. 3 vols. \$28.00 set.
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Cheyney, Edward P. Readings in English history [new edition]. Boston: Ginn & Co. 849 pp. \$2.64.

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Bax, Ernest B. The story of the French Revolution. N. Y.: N. Y. Labor News Co., 45 Rose St. 120 pp. \$2.00.

Shotwell, James T. A short history of the question of Constantinople and the Straits. N. Y.: Am. Assn. for International Conciliation, 407 W. 117th St.

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Patterson, Lt.-Col. John H. With the Judeans in the Palestine campaign. N. Y.: Macmillan. 270 pp. \$2.25.

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Warren, Whitney. Montenegro, the crime of the Peace Conference. N. Y.: Brentanos. 64 pp. \$1.00.

MISCELLANEOUS

Wer Ist's, 1922 [The German "Who's Who"]. N. Y.: G. E. Stechert, 151 W. 25th St. 1900 pp. \$4.00.

BIOGRAPHY

Fraser, Chelsea C. The story of John Paul Jones. Newark, N. J.: Barse and Hopkins. 182 pp. \$1.00.

Bruce, William C. John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773-1833. In 2 vols. N. Y.: Putnam. 661, 804 pp. \$10.00 set.

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Dennett, Tyler. Americans in Eastern Asia; a critical study of the Policy of the United States . . . in the 19th century. N. Y.: Macmillan. 725 pp. \$5.00.

Fair, Eugene. Government and politics in Missouri. Columbia, Mo.: W. Ridgway Pub. Co. 214 pp. \$1.25.

Kennedy, A. L. Old diplomacy and new, 1876-1922; from Salisbury to Lloyd George. N. Y.: Appleton, 35 W. 32nd St. 414 pp. (1½ p. bibl.). \$5.00.

Schreiner, George A., editor. Entente diplomacy and the world [Contains 858 documents from the secret archives of the late Imperial Russian Govt.]. N. Y. [Author]: 349 W. 57th St. 762 pp. \$9.00.

Steiner, Rudolph. The East in the light of the West. N. Y.: Putnam. 222 pp. \$2.75.

Historical Articles in Current Periodicals

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State Morality in International Relations. Bruce Williams (*American Political Science Review*, February).

The Equality of States, I. Julius Goebel, Jr. (*Columbia Law Review*, January).

The Word "State." H. C. Dowdall (*Law Quarterly Review*, January).

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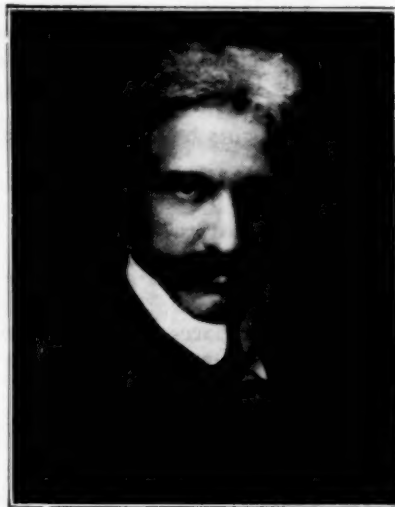
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Professor Breasted has recently returned from another trip to the Orient at the head of an expedition engaged in further research.



Carl F. Huth, Jr., Professor of Greek and Roman History, University of Chicago, ably assisted Dr. Breasted in the preparation of the maps and manual. Professor Huth is an authority in his field, directing large classes in the regular terms as well as in the Summer Session.

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